

Doc
S7477
D63

Library of The Theological Seminary

PRINCETON • NEW JERSEY



FROM THE LIBRARY OF
ROBERT ELLIOTT SPEER



D37
20-9
T12

✓
P. E. Sp...
Dr• George W. Holmes

of Persia

Medical Missionary, Mystic and Metaphysician

C O N T E N T S

- I. His Beginnings and the School of War
- II. First Term of Service in Persia
- III. Return to Persia and Eight Years' Service in Tabriz
- IV. His Six Years in Hamadan
- V. His Mystical Vision
- VI. The Practical Missionary
- VII. As Theologian and Philosopher
- VIII. Light and Shadow in a Great Soul
- IX. The Abiding Influence.

Appendices

His Beginnings and the School of War.

George Washington Holmes was born in Crawfordsville, Indiana, on February 22, 1841. His birthday was responsible for his middle name and he was never reconciled to it. He thought they might have named him George McCormick, using his grandmother's maiden name. On his father's side he came of Scotch Irish stock. His grandfather, Andrew Holmes, was born about 1750 in Ireland, probably at Belfast. Of Andrew's father nothing is known, but his mother is believed to have settled in Virginia and to have lived for a time in Pennsylvania, where Andrew Holmes at the time of his death had an interest in an estate which his son Magnus came on horseback from Kentucky to settle. Andrew moved early in the nineteenth century to Shelby County, Kentucky, where he was an engineer and magistrate, living on his farm in a house beautifully situated on a knoll about half a mile from Shelbyville, and where his name, as "Judge Holmes", was well known until after the Civil War. He was related to President Zachary Taylor and he made the survey for the fine highway between Shelbyville and Lexington.

Andrew was a prosperous man, leaving a good estate with many household effects, "great pots" and several slaves, to his widow, his son Magnus and his two daughters. The children received as good an education as the neighborhood afforded. The girls rode to school on one horse, up the creek which ran through the farm, followed by a colored boy on another horse. Magnus, George's father, received a medical education at Lexington and after his father's death removed with his mother and sisters to Crawfordsville, Indiana, where he engaged in merchandizing with Ben T. Ristine. He also practiced his profession as a doctor. In 1826 he married his partner's sister, Eliza Ann Ristine. Her father, Henry Ristine, had been one of the founders of Crawfordsville, driving into the place in 1823 from Madison in a large emigrant van drawn by six horses and followed by another two horse wagon, and ~~then~~ by the cattle driven by Ben, then a fifteen year old boy, on horseback. Henry Ristine was the true American pioneer type. He was born in Albany, N.Y., in 1781, removed as a child to Gallatin, Ky., and then in 1829 to Madison, Indiana. At Madison the mother with her babies was compelled to hide in ravines while her husband

with others moved out with rifles in hand to resist Indian attacks. For some time Henry Ristine served in the Indian wars, exercising command for some months of Fort Harrison which is now the city of Terre Haute. In later life he was known as Major Ristine. He served repeatedly in the State Legislature as a Whig, was connected from its organization with the New School Baptist Church in Crawfordsville and embodied in himself and transmitted to his children the reliant and reliable character of the American frontiersman.

Eliza Ristine was only a young girl going to school when she was married. Magnus Holmes boarded with her parents and when he asked their consent to the marriage Eliza's mother said, "Why do you want to marry that child? Why do you not go and marry Eliza Miller?" Magnus answered that he did not want Eliza Miller. He wanted Eliza Ristine. They made their bridal journey to Kentucky on horseback. At one point on the way the tavern keeper inquired of the doctor if he was taking his daughter to Kentucky to attend school. She was then in her sixteenth year.

George was five years old at the time of his father's death and the young mother had a hard struggle to live and provide for her family. Fortunately her brother, Dr. Henry Ristine, had come to Marion, Iowa, where he lived until his removal to Cedar Rapids, a rapidly growing place, six miles away. In those early days the Indians were near neighbors and frequently came to the Holmes's house. The Indians were friendly but the white settlers felt it necessary to provide food whenever they asked for it. Once at least they came when Mrs. Holmes had nothing in the house for her family but a little corn meal. She dared not refuse, however, and made cakes and gave them to the Indians, praying the while that some food might be provided for her little ones.

As a boy George joined the Methodist Church but seems to have felt ^{that} he had lost interest in religious things till 29 years of age when (it is believed during a revival) he felt ^{that} he was truly "taking his stand ^{on the Lord's side} ~~on the Lord's side~~ and joined the Congregational Church at Marion. He used sometimes to say ^{that} he was "a Methodo-Congregationalo-Presbyterian." Probably his varied experience made him broader in his sympathies. When he went

to Cedar Rapids and began his practice of medicine, there was no Congregational Church there and he ~~was properly~~ affiliated with the Presbyterians.

His mother must have been a deeply religious woman but her many sorrowe and hard life, with much lack of health, made her despondent at times and she doubted "whether she was saved," and she distinctly passed on some of her qualms to her son.

When a boy about twelve years of age he had gone on a visit to Crawfordsville and returned with his uncle to Marion, driving across country in a buggy.

Several of the children having died, he removed, in 1856, in the spring, with his mother and youngest sister to Crawfordsville, where he attended Wabash College. In the autumn of 1858 he returned alone (so far as his immediate family was concerned) to Marion. He was with some older man and they drove through as usual. ^{in those days} At the impressionable age of 17 he was much excited by the reports of the Lincoln-Douglas debates and as they journeyed on through Illinois they stopped at many places where these speeches had been made, but to his disappointment they did not overtake the speakers.

Arrived at Marion, Iowa, he was engaged as clerk in the Drug Store of his Uncle, Dr. Henry Ristine. He began the study of medicine (with his uncle as was customary at the time) but gave this up on the breaking out of the Civil War, and enlisted under President Lincoln's first call for 75,000 men, April, 1861, for 8 months' service.

The army and life were to be his chief school. The earlier years had not given much opportunity. In a letter in 1897 he wrote a brief account of the educational advantages which he and his parents had enjoyed: "My father and mother were educated people as the communities among whom they lived reckoned, but my father began his life almost with the century (1802) and my mother was ten years younger. In Kentucky and Indiana and in Iowa, where they came when I was but one year old, there were but few schools in those days and those were poor enough. When I was five years old, my father, who was then a successful physician living in Marion, died, and though he had a good deal of property, money was very scarce and the property did not bring much when sold. Mother, herself a great invalid for many years and with four children to provide for, had a bitter

struggle with sickness and adversity and had little time or opportunity to give to my instruction. Occasionally, a man or woman would come along and teach a private school for a few months in the winter but there was no regularity about it in any respect except that the teaching was uniformly of the very poorest quality. When I was fifteen, mother moved from Marion to Crawfordsville and there I spent a little over two years in the preparatory department of Wabash College, but I had to give up my hope of an education on account of poverty, and I went back to Marion and entered Uncle Henry's drug store as a clerk instead of entering college. After another two years and a half in which I did something also at studying medicine, the war broke out and for three and a half years I was in the army."

The Army and the experience of the Civil War, however, were with him, as with tens of thousands of the young men of that generation, a great and effective school of character and power. The Company in which he first enlisted was not accepted and he accordingly re-enlisted for three years or for the period of the war at Marion and in Company A, Sixth Iowa Volunteer Infantry. The regiment was mustered in the U. S. service July 17 and 18, 1861, at Camp Warren, Burlington, Iowa. George Holmes was 4th Sergeant of his Company. His wife writes: "When 'the boys' were first mustered in they were in a camp on a hillside and on the flat ground below. No arms, no tents, no blankets had as yet been supplied. They drilled with sticks and got on as best they could at night without blankets. George either brought blankets with him or sent for some. There came a period of rain, the earth was soaked and of course there was more discomfort and danger than in dry weather. One night as they were enduring it as best they could a wag on one part of the field started a cry like the boatmen on the Mississippi River when making soundings, 'One foot and a half.' From another part of the field came 'Two feet ten twain.' Others chimed in giving soundings here and there till the first called out, 'No bottom.'

"A little later they were sent to Arkansas and with the malarial climate many sickened and died. It was then that George Holmes first heard the strains of Handel's

'Dead March in Saul' played by the band, as one comrade and another was borne to his last resting place. The solemnity of these ~~grand~~ strains in the forest sunk deep in his soul and always brought back a flood of memories whenever he heard the music of which he was fond. Only a year or more before his death he bought an Aeolian piano player and he used often to play the 'Dead March in Saul.'"

"~~On August 6, 1861,~~ the regiment in its history records ~~---On August 6th, 1861,~~ the regiment received orders to proceed to Keokuk, where the Colonel received arms for six companies of his regiment and at once marched across the border into the State of Missouri to assist the Fifth Iowa Infantry in preventing a threatened invasion of Iowa by Rebel troops. The Rebels retreated. There was no loss to the 6th Iowa Infantry. The regiment returned to Keokuk and on the 9th of August proceeded by boat to St. Louis; was stationed at various places. On Sept. 19, 1861, the regiment went to Jefferson City and from that place started in an active campaign in the State of Missouri. During the remainder of 1861 and the winter of 1862 the regiment passed through an experience in the State of Missouri which may well be called the hard training school which fitted it for the great work which lay before it. Marched long distances over rough roads; men were overloaded with heavy knapsacks. Many died; many were disabled. Little fighting."

Holmes had advanced from 4th ~~S~~ergeant to 1st ~~S~~ergeant when the regiment was ordered on March 7, 1862, to join the Army of the Tennessee and was assigned to the First Brigade of the Fifth Division under General W. T. Sherman, at Pittsburg Landing. The position of the regiment was on the extreme right of the army, while two of its companies were detached to defend the bridge crossing Owl Creek, some distance in advance of the regiment. When the Rebel attack began on Sunday morning, April 6th, these two companies were in a greatly exposed position and found much difficulty in rejoining the regiment, which they finally succeeded in doing under the leadership of Captain Walden, in time to participate in the severest contest in which the regiment was engaged during the battle. There were but few regiments on either side in any battle of the war whose loss in killed, in proportion to the number engaged, equalled that of the 6th Iowa Infantry at Shiloh.

Holmes was promoted to a lieutenancy immediately after the battle of Shiloh. The regiment then participated in the operations incident to the advance upon and siege of Corinth, ending in the evacuation of that stronghold by the enemy May 30, 1862. During June and the latter part of July, 1862, the regiment was engaged in important reconnoitering expeditions in Tennessee and Mississippi, and on July 24 reached Memphis where it was stationed until Nov. 17th, when it started on the expedition of which Vicksburg was the objective point and participated in that campaign until General Grant was compelled to abandon the expedition on account of the capture of his supplies at Holly Springs, Miss.

The regiment was stationed at Grand Junction, Tennessee, during the winter of 1862-1863. It suffered the usual privations of a winter campaign. On June 14th it was attached to a Division of the 9th Army Corps and was stationed at Haines Bluff on the Yazoo River at the time of the surrender of Vicksburg, July 4, 1863. Immediately after the surrender, it moved to Jackson, Mississippi, and participated in the siege operations there. Colonel Corse in his official report of the conduct of his regiment during the advance upon and siege of Jackson, described in detail the difficulties encountered throughout the entire march, during which the enemy slowly retreated but stubbornly contested every day with the advancing Union Army from the 5th to the 12th of July, when they suddenly withdrew within the strong line of works they had erected around the capital of the State, leaving outposts, however, to be encountered and overcome before the main line of workers could be approached. On the 14th, 15th and 16th of July the regiment made a continued reconnoissance in front of the enemy's works, which ended in a brilliant charge upon an outlying force of the enemy and drove them from their advanced position. Col. Corse makes special mention in this report of the conduct of Major Miller and Adjutantannis, Captain Minton and ~~Lieutenant~~ Lieutenant Holmes, and adds: "No officer of my command but in some way has rendered himself worthy of honorable mention in some of the affairs during our advance upon Jackson." The loss of the regiment during these operations was 70 officers and men killed and wounded. A congratulatory order was issued by the Division Commander.

In recognition of his bravery in these engagements Lieutenant Holmes was promoted to a Captaincy. Major General Smith who was commander of the Division, made special mention of his conduct in a special report on July 20th: "Major Stephenson of the 48th Ill. and Capt. Minton of the 6th Iowa, both severely wounded, behaved with conspicuous gallantry, as did Lieutenant George W. Holmes, Co. A, 6th Iowa, who went forward under a murderous fire and carried Capt. Minton off the field."

Ten days later Col. Corse of the 6th Iowa, recommended the promotion and General Sherman approved it.

Headquarters 6th Iowa Infantry
Camp Sherman, Miss.
July 30, 1863

"N. B. Baker,
Adj't. Gen'l, Iowa.

I respectfully recommend that 2nd Lieut. George W. Holmes, Co. A., be commissioned as Captain of Co. K., 6th Iowa Vol. Inf., Cowler resigned, for conspicuous gallantry on the field before Jackson, Miss., on the 16th inst.

Lt. Holmes crossed an open field in the face of two batteries and two regiments of Infantry and with a corporal and two privates bore the body of Capt. Minton to a place of safety.

For this act of heroism in connection with his uniform good conduct in the various actions during the advance on Jackson, Miss., I respectfully request that he be transferred and commissioned as above recommended.

I have the honor to be
With great respect,
Your obedient servant,
Jno. M. Corse,
Col. Com'dg."

"I approve the within and recommend the promotion asked for for the reasons assigned by Col. Corse.

W. T. Sherman,
Maj. Gen. Comd."

Before his promotion came he was detailed to take charge of the mounted men to do sentry patrolling and police work guarding the civilian population from molestation on one of the fronts of the 4th Division. He had to find the horses and equipment for his men and was given orders to take and impress horses into the service wherever he could find them. He one day rode up to a plantation with some of his men, went to the house, and so ingratiated himself with the young lady and her sister by keeping his men in check that he was invited in and had a very pleasant call. He more than suspected that there was a fine horse hidden away but did not proceed to make too thorough a search. Later he called again once or twice in a friendly way at this home.

Many of the animals were unbroken. One day, mounted on a tall beast, he was going through broken and cut timber when his horse started on the dead run and nothing would stop him. On he tore through sharp and broken boughs and over stumps but the rider came out unscathed. Again he was at the head of a small company of his mounted men when the horse he was riding, a powerful beast, took the bit in his teeth and ran away, leaving his men far out of sight. As he swept on he descried a mounted Company of Confederates ahead. What to do he didn't know. Capture seemed inevitable. On he came like a whirlwind, raising his sword and shouting to his imaginary men to follow. The Confederates thought a troop was after them and were so stunned that he grabbed first one and then another by the neck as he passed and dragged them from their saddles. He called on them all to surrender which they were proceeding to do when fortunately his men overtook him and his prisoners. In November, 1863, the regiment fought heroically in the battle of Missionary Ridge, working its way up the steep and entrenched hill. As the regimental historian says: "The enemy stubbornly resisted every foot of the way and slowly and steadily those gallant sons of Iowa continued to climb upward in the face of the death-dealing missiles of their brave and stubborn foe, until at last the crest was gained and the battle won. The gallant Col. Corse was severely wounded.

"The next conspicuous march of the regiment was that December march under the

indomitable Sherman to the relief of Burnside's starving troops at Knoxville so graphically described by General Sherman in the following brief extract from his report,

'Seven days before we had left our camps on the other side of the Tennessee river with but two days' rations, stripped for the fight, with but a single blanket or coat to the man, from myself to the private. We had no provisions save what we gathered from the roadside, but we knew that 12,000 of our comrades were beleagured in Knoxville, 84 miles distant and must have relief within three days. This was enough. It had to be done.'

And it was done. The roads were obstructed and the advance of the Union troops delayed as much as possible, but the enemy finally yielded to the inevitable and the siege was abandoned before Sherman's advance reached Knoxville.

"The regiment rested at Scottdale, Ala., during the winter of 1864. Here a large number of men re-enlisted. Veterans reassembled after thirty days furlough at re-Davenport, Iowa, and proceeding to Chattanooga, Tenn., joined the united regiment which entered upon the great campaign which ended in the fall of Atlanta and the march to the sea."

Captain Holmes, however, to his bitter disappointment was not able to serve out the war. His last engagement was the battle of Resaca, Georgia, May 13, 1864. There he served again with conspicuous gallantry. Lieutenant Colonel A. J. Miller, commanding the 6th Iowa reported: "My command rejoined the Corps and Div. from veteran furlough, at Chattanooga, Tenn., on 5th May, 1863. Nothing of special interest occurred during our march through Snake Creek Gap, nor until we arrived at Resaca, Georgia, where the enemy confronted us in position on the 13th day of May, 1864. My command was here employed principally in skirmishing. Capt. George W. Holmes, Co. K., deserves especial mention for the gallant manner in which he moved his command across an open field in face of the enemy."

In this engagement Captain Holmes was active especially in the skirmishing. Late in the day he and his men became partially cut off and to save his men they spent the night in the bed of a creek under cover where they had to lie or stand in the water. Capt. Holmes's active service in the war terminated the next day, an almost fatal attack

of illness resulting from exposure during the day and night of May 13th, from which he did not recover for more than a year. It was a bitter disappointment not to go through the war to the end, since he had served so long. He also wanted to follow Sherman to the sea. At the time he was taken sick he was in the line of very rapid promotion.

Returning to Iowa Captain Holmes sought to regain his health, which bore traces of his war experience to the end of his life, and again took up the drug business with the study and practice of medicine in Marion. After several years practice and much illness he went to Bellevue Medical College in New York City. There after an interrupted course he was graduated in March, 1871. The following year he settled in Cedar Rapids where he practiced for the next three years until his appointment as a missionary to Persia. Mrs. Caroline C. Sinclair recalls Dr. Holmes's life in Cedar Rapids and the impression which the purity and simplicity of his character left upon all who knew him:

✓ Dr. Holmes's residence in Cedar Rapids was so short a time in years that the strong impress of his Christian character, especially of his devotion and gentleness, prove their sterling worth. He was so modest, so retiring, that one had to know him well to appreciate his worth fully.

✓ My first acquaintance with Dr. Holmes was when he came to Cedar Rapids in 1872 from Marion, the county seat of Linn County, about six miles distant.

✓ Dr. Holmes came with his uncle, Dr. Henry Ristine, a physician with a large practice in town and country, of whose family he was counted a much-loved member. My husband and I greeted Dr. Holmes with great gratification, as a Christian physician, for we too were new comers and had not yet found a family physician.

✓ Dr. Holmes and my husband soon found the close bond of fellowship in Christ that bound them together in a friendship only ended here when my husband passed beyond into the presence of the Master they both loved devotedly. The Rev. James Knox was then pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, a man full of zeal for missions and under his influence Dr. Holmes decided to offer himself to go as a medical missionary to China. After correspondence with Dr. Ellinwood he decided to go to Persia, where at the time the need for a medical man was urgent. I recall the great interest his decision aroused, and the many discussions of those who sympathized with his plans and those who felt that he was turning away from work waiting his doing at home - what servant of God has not to endure such trials in going out to those in need of the gospel in other lands? Before Dr. Holmes left Cedar Rapids in 1874, he married Miss Lizzie Wisner, the daughter of Judge Wisner of Cedar Rapids, and the grand-daughter of the Rev. Dr. Wisner of Ithaca, New York. I remember Miss Wisner telling me that her grandfather often told her he was praying that she might be a missionary - and so these two went forth followed by the prayers of relatives and friends to do a faithful work in Persia. During his short residence in Cedar Rapids at this time he left a deep impression of his earnest, devoted spirit, and he was valued by many as physician and friend.

Mrs. Knox recalls his ministry in a family newly-come to Cedar Rapids whom she had visited as the pastor's wife. One of the children was taken ill and the mother turned to Mrs. Knox for advice as to a physician - she was referred to Dr. Holmes, Mrs. Knox adding to her recommendation of him as a doctor that he was also a Christian.

In the course of the disease the child was brought very low, and one day the mother said to Dr. Holmes, "Can you not save my child's life?" "That," said the doctor, "is in God's hands but I will do all I can." "Well, they told me you were a Christian; will you not pray that my dear child's life may be spared?" The doctor knelt and offered an earnest prayer that if it was God's gracious will, health might be given. He left the mother comforted and the child was restored to health.

When he returned home on his first furlough, broken in health, there was no sign of diminished ardour for his great commission. He was still the loyal soldier of the Cross. He counted it, evidently, an honor to serve, and, if need be, to suffer for the Master, who laid down His life for the world's redemption. His talks in prayer meetings and in our homes stirred our hearts for the darkened land of Persia and some of us have never lost the interest thus aroused, or made more intelligent.

Dr. Holmes was not the ordinary and traditional type of missionary. And when he offered himself for appointment the mission cause got in him an unusual and rare personality. He would have been the last to recognize or believe this. He was very diffident and self-distrustful, at the same time that he was so competent and so capable of inspiring absolute confidence toward himself in all with whom he dealt. Although he was without a college education, Wabash College gave him the honorary degree of Master of Arts in 1894. It was a well-bestowed honor for he had a mind of unusual freshness and power which respected all that was established but combined with such respect a most attractive and innocent boldness, and ^{which,} questioning all things, sought fearlessly for the truth. ~~He wrote back to the Board from Umanis when he reported his arrival~~

II
FIRST TERM SERVICE in Persia

Appointed a missionary by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in 1873, Dr. Holmes was married to Eliza Amira Wisner and sailed for Persia in August, 1874. In London, he heard Liddon and Spurgeon preach on the same day and wrote of his impressions from Milan:

"We had no difficulty, nevertheless, in getting very good seats both morning and evening at Spurgeon's Tabernacle, and greatly enjoyed the ministrations of the great preacher. In the afternoon we attended St. Paul's to hear Canon Liddon deliver a very scholarly discourse, which we, in common with many others of the large audience, heard very indistinctly, sufficiently well, however, to note the distinction between the philosopher ministering to the aesthetic tastes of his audience and the preacher of God's Word, whose plain and simple but earnest and impressive words exert so great an influence for good."

9 His first letter from his station at Urumia was written to the Board on March 22, 1875. He speaks bravely but his underlying misgivings on the score of health was to be fulfilled.

"The only apology I can offer for my long delay in reporting my arrival is that of ill health, combined with manifold cares. I suffered very much on the way from care and fatigue, but hoped to speedily recruit when my journey was terminated and I had obtained a little rest. In this, I have been to a great extent disappointed. My services as a physician have been in constant demand from the moment of my arrival, both by members of the Mission and by the people of the country of all classes, from the Governor of the city and the wealthy Khans, down to the meanest subject, and notwithstanding all my efforts to economize time and strength, I have succeeded indifferently with either. The latter has generally been expended in daily duties which it seemed impossible for me to avoid, and while I have felt it a duty to write often, I have hardly been able to maintain a correspondence with my home friends. Since the 1st of February we have been living at Mt. Seir, and I have been in some degree relieved from care by the change, and with considerable benefit to myself. My health is I think now slowly improving and I hope soon to engage in my work as of old. I hope that you will not, indeed, infer from the tone of my remarks in commencing my letter that you are likely soon to be burdened with the care of another returned missionary on my account. I do not think that, having put my hand to the plough, I am accustomed to look back and I am sure that nothing but an unmistakable sense of duty to the Mission as well as to myself, will call me home - and of this I see

no present nor prospective probability.

In this same letter he writes thoughtfully of the problems of the Mission work at that time in that station in Persia and of the progress which has been made.

The question that most directly affects us as missionaries is that which relates to baptism. Shall we baptize on profession of faith, with Philip and Paul and Silas, or shall we, with John, demand fruits meet for repentance? Shall we baptize secretly or openly? Shall we require a short or a long probation? Dr. Ward of "The INDEPENDENT", writing from Aleppo, gently deprecated the conservatism of the Persian missionaries in the matter of baptizing converts from Mohammedanism, but had he spent a few years with us, I am persuaded that he would agree with us that we had baptized too many rather than too few. We are in general accord that secret baptisms are hurtful to the Christian character of the converts, but it is easier to recognize an evil than to supply a remedy. In time of persecution, when Christians are only permitted to meet at all by meeting in secret, private baptism is in harmony with the other ordinances of the Church. Here, however, the Moslem converts meet in public with a church principally composed of native Christians, to whom freedom of worship is guaranteed by law. When such converts wish to unite with the church, however, they are told that they must be baptized in secret. They are all too ready to take their religion on easy terms, as the native Christians so far as the law is concerned, are permitted to do, and they begin by confessing Christ - before men? No - behind closed doors. The lighted candle is carefully placed under a bushel, from which it seldom or never emerges to give light unto those about. The worst effect is that the converts are thus confirmed in the ideas in which they have grown up, that dissimulation is a legitimate means of defense against persecution.

Insofar as the candidate is concerned, it is easy to see that public baptism is best adapted to develop fortitude in those whose professions are sincere. as well as to repel the unworthy, but when its probable effect upon the work itself is considered, then it assumes another aspect. Would not such an attempt inevitably bring about such an outcry that the Government would feel compelled to close our churches and forbid our working here at all? Is our work in Persia anywhere outside of Ureemia in so forward a state that we could contemplate expulsion with equanimity? No! We would have no Madagascar here, and our withdrawal now would without doubt be followed by the blight of our anticipated harvest, more complete than that which overtook the German Missions in the Caucasus after their suppression by Nicolas. The Ureemia churches would doubtless carry on the work among

their own people, but as yet few of them have risen to the idea of imperiling their own privileges by carrying on an active missionary work for their Moslem masters.

The political disabilities of the Moslem converts, together with the race antagonism between them and the native Christians, making it extremely difficult for them to work in harmony, have led us to look favorably upon the organization of a separate church for our Mussulman converts, setting apart one of their number to be their spiritual guide, and with authority to administer the sacraments. This has not heretofore been practicable for want of a suitable person to serve in that capacity, but Sayid Agha has borne himself so well through the trying experiences of the past two months, and has uniformly shown so upright a Christian character, withal having the needful intellectual qualifications, that he would seem to be the man for the place. If he can gather around him enough converts of his own people to support him from their own contributions from the first, it will be an experiment well worthy of our most thoughtful and prayerful attention. The political power of Islam is threatened with destruction by enemies from without, but the subversion of its faith will probably be accomplished from within rather than from without its ranks. The pride and arrogance and self-sufficiency of the Moslem envelop him as with a coat of mail. He may speculate upon all things in heaven and earth, and be sceptical of everything else, but that he as a Moslem is the elect of God to all eternity, and that all Christian people are delivered of Him to the devil, he has no manner of doubt. When the Gospel is presented to such an one by a foreigner he instinctively rejects it, as from an emissary of Satan. When presented by a convert from Islam who comes as a paid agent of the hated foreigner, he looks upon him as a hypocrite who is doing well enough in making a living off the ill-gotten gains of the sons of Japheth, but that he comes with any message for him, unless it be the good news of a salary and a sinecure, he would be totally unprepared to believe. But when the message comes through one of his own people, who has fed with him on the same husks and knows by experience how hollow are the claims of Islam and how impotent to heal the aching heart, and to whom, moreover, no suspicion attaches as being the paid agent of a foreign propaganda, much of the difficulty is overcome. Much has been done within the last fifteen years in Persia in preparatory work. The preaching of the Gospel by the mouths of so many witnesses, the translations of the Scriptures and Christian literature and their extensive distribution among the people, the great advance made in educational work and medical work, the examples of Christian living in the homes and in the social and business relations of the missionaries and Protestant Christians - these have had an immense influence in preparing the way for the coming of the Lord. What is now needed is that the religion of Christ shall be exemplified in the lives of those who profess

to have found in him deliverance from the bondage of Islam, exemplars who count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus their Lord, who are burdened with the conviction that God has given them a message to deliver to their people, which must be spoken, and who are burning with love and sympathy for their perishing countrymen.

~~Is it too much to expect that the precious seed which has been sown through so many years of trial and discouragement will yet bring forth such fruit as this? May we not even hope that the Lord may find in these two brethren chosen instruments for the accomplishment of his purposes in hastening the day for the redemption of Persia to Christ? (The two brethren refers to the one mentioned in this portion of the letter and to another of whose conversion he speaks earlier in the letter)~~

Dr. Holmes was able to stay in Persia on this term less than three years. The country was much disturbed and the conditions ^{were} difficult but such things would never have moved him. He wrote of this from Urumia in June, 1876:

We encountered some serious opposition in Tergawar at the hands of the Nestorians, who threatened my life and for a time refused to let me pass through one of their villages, the mob being instigated by the Malik and he by the Patriarch, but no harm resulted. On the border between here and Gavar we were surrounded by robbers but were not molested. * * *

The country here is in a very unsettled condition. Murders and robberies are of constant occurrence. The Governor has recently executed several commands but he has little authority and is treated with little respect. The occurrences in Turkey are creating a wide spread feeling of disaffection among the Mussulmans toward their religious opponents and we meet with many indications of an unfriendly spirit. The other day a Mullah harangued a crowd in a mosque, inciting them to an onslaught upon the Jews on account of real or feigned grievances, to such effect that only the timely interposition of the authorities with a promise of redress prevented a general massacre.

We fear no immediate outbreak upon the Christians but we feel the need of acting with careful prudence. Riots have occurred at Khoi and Resht recently.

But if disorder only gave increased evidence of the need of wise & competent men like Holmes, health was a different matter and by the spring of 1877, it became clear that he would have to leave both on his wife's account and on his own. They came to Russia hoping to recover

sufficiently to return to their work but on July 20, 1877, Dr. Holmes wrote to the Board from Russia:

At Tiflis we were compelled to stay four weeks, as I was too ill to set out sooner. * * * In crossing the Dariel Pass over the Caucasian Mountains I was attacked with congestion of the brain and became delirious, recovering, however, sufficiently to give directions to the ladies about the care I needed, as I apprehended ancephalitis. I improved sufficiently to enable us to go on by slow stages, and Mr. Easton, who still remained at Tiflis, having been telegraphed for, joined us soon after our arrival in Vladikafkas. We had a terrible time with our driver on the last day, he having become quite drunk, and so troublesome that I had to take the lines myself and with the assistance of the servants and the ladies to tie the fellow down.

Neither myself nor wife have found the benefit we hoped for, nor do we see any prospect of obtaining it. Indeed, it seems to me what we are just beginning to realize how fearfully our constitutions have been shattered by three years of almost constant illness. We have, to our great sorrow, been compelled to give up the hope of returning to Persia, a hope which until within the last two weeks we have not been satisfied to surrender.

On returning to America in October, 1877, he settled in Cedar Rapids again in the practice of medicine.

Return to Persia and Eight Years' Service in Tabriz.

After four years in America Dr. Holmes felt that his own health and the health of his wife would justify his resumption of work in Persia and in the fall of 1881 he was reappointed by the Board and sent with his wife and little daughter Mary to Tabriz. Dr. Joseph P. Cochran, who had been born in Urumia, had completed his medical education in America and returned to Urumia in 1878, so that the medical needs of that station were supplied. Dr. Holmes' first letter to the Board from Tabriz on December 19, 1881, confirmed the wisdom of the medical judgment which sanctioned his coming back to Persia:

"My own health has been exceptionally good since our arrival, and gives promise of fully justifying the action of the Board in sending us back. For my own part I have no misgivings. I am satisfied that I acted wisely in following the promptings of my heart in the matter, and am very thankful that the Board were willing to undertake the risk of sending us out a second time."

In June 1882 he wrote:

"My own work has developed in a very different way from what I anticipated or desired at the outset. In Oroomiah my work was almost exclusively confined to the poor, and in coming here the prospect of my being able to do much work was so uncertain, that I had no disposition to go forward faster than my strength would justify, and wished to build slowly and securely. But I have been forced into a position of prominence which circumstances seem to thrust upon me? I have frequent demands for my professional services by the higher classes, both of Mussulmans and Armenians, who have learned enough of the benefits of foreign medical science to have an exaggerated idea of its possibilities. So that I feel called upon here, even more than at home, to avail myself of the highest resources of my art, and as the people are many of them able and willing to pay for services rendered, I am the better enabled to do so. My health has been so exceptionally good, that I begin to look forward hopefully to the prospect of establishing a hospital in this great city, the influence of which, if properly conducted, could not help being of great value in the

prosecution of our work. I have organized a medical class of three young and very promising Mussulman converts, in addition to the Nestorian assistant from Urmia."

A few extracts from his letters and reports will suffice to cover the years from 1881 to 1886 when he became Chief Physician to the Vali Abed, the Crown Prince of Persia, who *then resided* in Tabriz as the second city in the realm.

Tabriz, June 18, 1883

"I am expecting to go with Mirza Samuel to Urmia to attend the graduation of the Medical Class, of whom he and two others now with Dr. Cochran remain of the original eight with which I commenced in Urmia in 1875. One of the number died (a very promising member of the class), one is at present an army surgeon in the Persian army at Sajbulak, two withdrew to enter the ministry, one fell out and the other three graduate this year. As these are the first fruits of medical education in connection with our work, and so far as we know the first medical class carried through a full course of medical instruction in Persia, since the time that Daniel undertook the care of his own and his comrades' health, we look forward to the event with no little interest. Mirza Samuel assists me very efficiently in the charge of the Dispensary here while the other two, Oshana and Israiel, are no less helpful to Dr. Cochran in the Hospital at Urmia. I take no little satisfaction in the thought that the inauguration of this enterprise, without which neither the hospital in operation in Urmia, nor the one projected here could be made successful, was given me of God to undertake.

"The last Annual meeting adopted a resolution authorizing me to correspond with the Board relative to the establishment of a Hospital in Tabriz, but distrustful of my own strength at first, I have been somewhat reluctant to assume any more responsibilities. But the time seems now to have arrived when the demands for hospital accommodations must be met. I have almost daily to turn away patients, many of whom come from a distance and some from Russia, for treatment, but for whom I can do nothing for want of the facilities which a hospital will afford. **** I am very anxious to make a commencement this winter, but of course unless some friend should furnish the money this would be impracticable - anxious to do so simply because the pressure is so great upon me. I have a student, Mirza Samuel, who is competent to relieve me of much of the care of such an undertaking, and three others who are pretty well acquainted with medicines, and who can render a great deal of assistance. So that the work will not be so great a burden as it would have proved a while ago."

Tabriz, July 21, 1883

It has been my own practice, as it has also, I think, been the case with Dr. Cochran, to require patients who are able to do so to pay for medical service and for medicines. I also require all except poor to pay something for their medicines, since free medicines like free books are seldom appreciated. But for many years to come neither Dr. Cochran nor I can expect to pay more than a small part of our expenses in this way. The Mussulmans are accustomed to class doctors and barbers together and to value their services at about the same rate, and there is absolutely no sense of honor or gratitude among them which in other Oriental countries prompts patients ~~who have been~~ ^{to make some} return. I generally require them, whether rich or poor, if they pay at all to pay in advance, as otherwise they would never pay. The Armenians, however, usually pay as well as people do at home, but only a few families can afford to pay for more than an occasional visit. When I came here I might probably, had I chosen, have done a pretty large practice among the Franks, as I was solicited to take several of their families. But there is a German physician here who depends upon their support for his living. Had I taken all or even half his practice he would have been compelled to leave, which would have been an injustice to him and I would have been compelled to give up the greater part of my time to routine medical work, which would have left me no time or strength for missionary work, which I came here to do. I decided wisely, I think, to decline the practice of the Europeans except in consultations, and I think the Board will recognize the wisdom of my course, though the estimate for my department be increased thereby.

Urumia - July 29, 1885

As our work progresses among the Mussulmans we find new problems confronting us and many of these are very perplexing. The larger proportion of our converts from Islam have been young men and unmarried. Of marriageable girls, on the contrary, we have had but few. Shall we consent to our converts being ^{or} equally yoked with unbelievers, or shall we require them to remain unmarried permanently for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake? Forced celibacy has not worked so successfully in the Catholic Church, even among the intellectual classes, as to make us welcome it as a condition of church membership among people whose habits of mind have been formed in an atmosphere of sensual indulgence, but to some of us it appears to be the least of the two evils. On the other hand, should the convert be a marriageable girl, she must accept the husband her father gives her to, since she has practically no more choice in the matter of a husband than had the slave woman in the South before the War. In this case, if a true disciple of Christ, she can only accept a husband under protest, and with him the observance of the faith, &c., which would be forced upon her whether she would or not. Converts who have already contracted plural marriages are required to put away all but one of their wives, though they should not be relieved of the duty of supporting the divorced wives and their children. But a polygamous marriage presupposes a moderately well-to-do husband. If he becomes a Christian he loses his support and it becomes difficult if not impossible for him to furnish an adequate support to his discarded wives, or to pay the dowry which would release him in the eyes of the law.

✓To what extent should we give material assistance to converts who are thrown out of employment as a result of their professing the new faith? On this subject there is a great diversity of opinion among missionaries to Moslem people. In many cases they are ostracised and shut out from all avenues of employment, so that unless assisted they must be in danger of starvation. Where there are a number of Moslem converts the remedy must be to teach them to help one another, and this they can usually do in such cases though all may be very poor. But where their numbers are few it is a difficult question. Help from the missionaries, even though it be only in the form of employment, is demoralizing, more so than almost any other influence we have to contend with. Though we pay no more than the market price, all the places we have are eagerly sought after, as the pay is certain and the employment steady. Besides this, as our servants, they are usually secure from oppression. So that the prospect of even so little help as this is sure to attract a crowd of hypocrites, who would gladly profess Christianity all their lives at the rate of two toman a month. And the peculiarity of Moslem ethics ^{here} is that none of their own faith would molest them or question the propriety of their conduct, so long as they were convinced that these so-called converts were playing the hypocrite, and only pretending to renounce Islam.

✓The observance of the Sabbath is a different thing for Moslem converts in the employ of others than the missionaries, since they can find no regular employment where they will not be required to violate the sanctity of the Holy Day.

✓Report for 1885.✓

✓The work of the Tabriz Dispensary, as in the previous year, had been greatly interrupted by the illness of the physician, and since the first week in June last it has been continuously closed. For a time I had reason to think that my work in it and on earth was ended, but a merciful providence has granted me another lease of life, which it is my earnest prayer may be more useful and more consecrated than in the past.

✓During the first six months of the year which has just closed, I was actively engaged in medical work, giving as much attention to it as my strength would permit. But had I responded to all the calls made upon me, I should have had my time entirely taken up, and my strength more utterly exhausted than I found it, when in June last I was compelled to hurry away with my family to Urmia, where I hoped to find rest and recovery under the skillful care of Dr Cochran.

✓In surrendering the hospital last year, I was comforted by the thought that I would be able to make the Dispensary all the more efficient and I have been much disappointed in the result. Its facilities have not been utilized as I expected and desired, either as a humanitarian or as an evangelizing agency. The reasons for this failure I fear have not all been traceable to physical disability. I earnestly hope that with renewed strength and with a deepening sense of obligation, I may accomplish much more during the coming year than has been done in the past.

The financial pressure led me to take a step which would otherwise have been delayed until a later period. I decided to dispense with the services of my assistant, Mirza Samuel, who has been with me for nearly four years, and to conduct the work with the help of Joseph alone. Mirza S. gladly availed himself of my permission for him to set up for himself and has already gained a very lucrative practice.

This is one of the objects sought to be attained when the first medical class was organized to train up physicians - first, to supply the needs of the hospitals and dispensaries connected with the mission; 2nd, to supply medical missionaries to outlying stations; and 3rd, to supply the communities with carefully trained physicians of their own people who would minister to their needs, and to furnish honorable and profitable employment for a certain number of the graduates of our schools which would render them independent of stipends from the mission treasury. The first and third of these objects have now been in part accomplished, Mirza Israil, a fellow graduate of Samuel, having also successfully established himself in an independent practice during the past summer in ~~Urcemia~~^{Urmia}. The second object, I regret to say, has not been accomplished as yet, and I regret to say that Mirza Israil was deterred from going in that capacity to the field to which he was appointed and the work for which he was specially trained through the influence of his father, himself a professed ambassador or Christ, the only reason assigned being that there wasn't money in it.

The religious influence of the medical department has, during the greater part of the year, been limited to the opportunities for personal religious conversation offered by my intercourse with those who came to be healed of their bodily ailments. The seed is sown by many waters, and is committed to him who both giveth seed to the sower and bread to the eater. Of the ten who were healed, one returned to give thanks for his deliverance. Let us hope that our work for the body may be not wholly lost upon the heart, but that many of those who come may have their steps truly directed to the Great Physician whose healing touch none ever sought in vain.

For several years Dr. Holmes had been serving as physician to the Crown Prince, later Shah Muzaffr-i-Din, and in the spring of 1888 with the approval of the Mission and the Board he gave^{up} his missionary salary and entered the service of the Prince. In his letter to the Board he wrote:

It has been felt by all that it might be better to let some other interests suffer, rather than to wilfully neglect what seemed to be a providential opening for the proclamation of the truth as it is in Jesus in the household of the heir-apparent to the throne of Persia. For I have for a year or more enjoyed the utmost freedom in the palace in presenting the claims of Christ as the all-sufficient and only Saviour of mankind, who are all under condemnation for sin. I have had frequent and earnest discussions with His Highness on the comparative claims of Christianity and Islam upon the allegiance of the world, and have pointed out plainly the reasons why the teachings of the prophet are unavailing to save the soul from sin. So also in the houses of the mullahs and ~~Muj~~^{Muj}taheeds, in the homes of the people of all classes, the rich and the poor, the learned and the unlearned, I

am invited constantly to explain the principles of our faith, and I have almost invariably been listened to with respectful attention. It has always been my aim, avoiding controversies as far as possible, to exalt Christ as the Son of God, and to show that faith in him is the essential condition of salvation. But this I have endeavored to do kindly and persuasively, seeking rather to draw them out of the strongholds of their prejudices and misconceptions, rather than by rudely assaulting to incur the risk of strengthening and confirming them. This might not be the best method for a scholar who was thoroughly familiar with Islam, but I am sure that it has been best for me to confine myself so far as possible to telling of what I know and testifying of what I have seen of the wonderful works of God.

At the request of the Crown Prince I deferred my contemplated departure for America until after the New Year's festival, which falls on the 21st of March. Meantime the Ameer, the able and powerful governor-general of Azarbaijan, fell ill, and for a long time it was the settled conviction of every one, myself perhaps excepted, that he would certainly die, he being at an advanced age and a chronic invalid. His disease was a very serious one, but he would not consent to a consultation, and except for the aid of his attending physician, a Persian Afshar prince, I had to assume the entire responsibility of the case. Last year I carried him through a serious illness, but this was much more grave, and in Teheran the conviction that he could not recover was so strong that his successor was already appointed. To the surprise of all, the Ameer recovered. After his convalescence the infant daughter of the Vali Ahd - the Crown Prince - fell ill of meningitis, and the charge of the case was entrusted to me.... After a month's careful watching of the little patient I pronounced her convalescent, and received publicly the thanks of the Vali Ahd and a second Khalat, or robe of honor.

Dr. Holmes accepted the position offered him of physician-in-chief to the heir apparent, limiting his contract to one year, and "stipulating", as he writes, "that no restrictions should be placed on my engaging in Christian work as heretofore. No objection was made to this, the chief mujtaheed (Persian priest) recommending me to the Vali Ahd for the position on the ground that I was true to the teachings of my own faith, and therefore worthy of being trusted in the ~~and~~ - the harem."

~~Some other quotations from his letters may be added about this~~

service:

In the fall of 1888 the Crown Prince visited Teheran and insisted on Dr. Holmes' accompanying him. From Teheran Dr. Holmes wrote, November 6, 1888:

"I am a pilgrim and a stranger here, in the city of the Shahs, whither I have come in the suite of His Imperial Highness, the Vali Ahd (crown prince). You have perhaps heard something through my friends at Cedar Rapids of the circumstances attending my appointment to the position I occupy as Physician-in-Chief to the Vali Ahd. The illness of our children, which prevented our starting for Europe at the time appointed, the request of the Crown Prince that I would remain and enter his service, which, owing to the condition of my health I was compelled to decline, the renewal of the request, which was repeatedly urged upon me by the Prince in person, and which I at length accepted with the approval of the Mission here and the Board in America.

"The Vali Ahd is here on a visit to the capital, from which he has been absent now about seven years. The distance is 400 miles from Tabriz to Teheran, a little farther, perhaps, than from Des Moines to Chicago, but you will recognize the difference between the United States and Persia in the fact that we were twenty-six days on the way, during twenty-three of which we were in the saddle. I myself was not compelled to ride on horseback, since the Prince furnished me a carriage, drawn by six horses, but the stages were so short that I often preferred the more social way of riding with the others on horseback, enlivened as it often was by witnessing feats of horsemanship, hunting with dogs and with falcons, &c.

"I find many open doors here, though we have only been here a few days. Our American Minister, Mr. Pratt, is very gentlemanly and popular in all circles here, and he has treated me very kindly.

"Today I had an interview with the Turkish Ambassador, who has made a special appointment for me to-morrow to talk over some matters of mutual interest. Today also I had the distinguished honor of being presented to the Shah, the presentation being made by request of his majesty. After a brief conversation, in which he inquired about our country and our war, among other things, then about the health of his son, the Vali Ahd, His majesty requested that I should examine his own pulse and prescribe for him for a slight ailment from which he was suffering. Dr. Tholozan, the Shah's French physician, who was with me at the time, has been very cordial in his manner toward me here. I had met him once before, and have had frequent correspondence with him since then. There are a number of foreign (European) physicians here connected with the different legations and in other capacities, but Dr. Tholozan, from his age and experience, as well as by virtue of his office, has easy precedence of them all. One of his courtesies to me which I appreciated, was his having the bi-weekly meetings of the medical society changed from Sunday to Tuesday so that I could attend.

I do not know how long we will be here. We may return in a few weeks, and we may remain all winter. As I have to receive a great deal I have taken a house, and have set up a regular establishment here. A friend has kindly placed a carriage, horses, and coachman at my disposal, without which I should find it hard to get about in the magnificent distances of this growing city. Besides this I have ten fine horses and seven men. I find these quite insufficient for my needs on the journey, there being so many things one has to use his own servants ~~here for~~ for here, which in America are done by the servants of the public. Besides this my family are in Tabriz and Mrs. Holmes must keep up the house there. So you see that my post cannot be considered a lucrative one when the necessary expenses of living are considered. Personally I would much rather prefer a quiet life at home in America, and nothing but a sense of duty would induce me to remain here, whatever the inducements in the way of prospective honors and emoluments.

his daughter Mary
In a letter to ~~Mrs.~~ Holmes from Kasvin he wrote of the journey from Tabriz to that city on the way to Teheran, on October 22, 1888:

I told you that we had three or four hundred men with us but I had not seen them all. There are probably more than a thousand. Today we came to Kasvin. This is a large city but not as large as Tabriz. We had a great peehwas. First a long way out of the city a regiment of cavalry came out to meet us, and drew themselves up on one side of the road, till we passed. After that came the Governor, who alighted, and came on foot to the Vali Ahd's carriage. Then came a delegation of citizens, who bowed many times each, as the Ferash Bashe introduced them. Then a delegation of Mullahs, for whom His Highness stopped his carriage, to say a word to them. Then a delegation of about thirty dervishes. Then other delegations of citizens. Then a crowd of men and boys on one side and women on the other. As we approached the city, the people became more numerous, till at length there was a continuous line on both sides of the streets, and the housetops were covered with women. Finally after a long journey we arrived at the gate of the Shah's Palace, and there the crowd was still more dense, and a large body of gaudily dressed soldiers were drawn up to receive the Prince. I was separated from my men in the crowd, and when the Prince entered the Palace gate, I was at a loss what to do with my horse. Just then Mirza Rasoul, whom I had sent on before, appeared, and led my horse through the crowd down a long avenue to the Hotel, where rooms had been secured for me. Presently the pack horses with the trunks, etc. came up, and I had an opportunity to change my dusty clothes for clean ones.

The procession as it came in was arranged something like this. First the shaters, or runners, who go before the Royal party. Then a small advance guard of horsemen. Then the officers of the Cavalry regiment, with bright silk sashes over their uniforms. Then the Mir Akhore, the equerry of His Imperial Highness, with his Lieutenant, Mirza Hussein Khan. Then H.I.H's carriage, in which, being yet somewhat indisposed, he rode. Then the Said ul Mulk, Nusrat ed Dowleh, and

the Governor of Kasvin. Then the various Princes and other officials of the court, including your father. Then the Chamberlains. Then the pipebearers, carrying on their saddles in place of holsters, two long cylindrical boxes, in which the pipes were carried (kalleons) and swinging on either side behind the stirrups, the leather water bottle, and the iron mangal, in which a charcoal fire is kept burning, ready for immediate use. For the Persians have to smoke their awkward ~~kalleons~~ ^{gout} (or "hubble bubbles" as they are called in India by the English, from the noise made by drawing the smoke through the water) very frequently, and in some way they manage to hold them on horseback, and smoke as the pipe is passed around at frequent intervals on the journey. I neglected to say that the "yadaks" ~~of~~ led horses preceded the carriage. These were each one covered with a beautiful piece of Resht embroidery, which was gathered up around the saddle, falling down below the horses side, as you have seen them in the Moharrem processions. Then in approaching the city, a corps of ferashes with long sticks with which to beat the people out of the way, were in advance. After the pipe bearers, were the sumpter mules, with refreshments of various kinds. Then came the Yassawool boshes, with their large gray sheepskin caps, and bearing large silver and gold maces. Their duty was to keep unauthorized persons from approaching too near the Royal party. Then came the Ghular Aghase, with his dragoons, and after them the carriages. Then the servants and hangers on, and after all the muleteers (chavadars) with the baggage and tents. Many of these had however gone on ahead the night before. Mirza Nasrullah having been presented to the Vali Ahd, was allowed to ride in company with me, but Mirza Rawoul and the others had to keep back of the Goolar Aghase's men. When I wished to ride in the carriage, I dropped back and Hashim was ready to take my horse and to bring him again whenever I wished to remount. He also carried my overcoat and rubber clothing behind his saddle. I have only had to put on my waterproofs once, and that only for a slight shower. Abbas follows Hashim with the "sumpter mule" this being a horse, with the lunch, a case of medicines, a rug, etc. Mirza Rasoul is often sent ahead to secure a good menzil (lodging), or if present, makes himself very useful in many ways. I should have found it very hard to get on without him on this journey? Hashim and Saduk take care of the horses, the latter coming along with Baba with the loads to see that they do not get too far behind. Baba has kept very well and is seeing a good deal of life in his old age. Even Mirza Rasoul thinks that he has just begun to live since he came to Kasvin, with the splendours of which he is greatly impressed. Mirza Nasrullah (he is called Khan by almost all) is a very interesting companion. His remarks are often very naive. The Prince who objected to riding in the carriage with me remonstrated with him for eating with me. But he said, "We have a Mussulman cook!" As this did not satisfy him Nasrullah said, "Well, you will only have to burn for your own sins. I will burn for mine." The Prince laughed and turned away. He is fond of quoting a proverb in Persian,

"Ta ke nadarad chub e tar.
Farman nabarad go oo kharr."

which being rendered into English runs something like this,

Till many blows the end compass,
No work is done by ox or ass.

He says that this is the way everything must be done in Persia, but that now they are so much afraid of me, that they will not need beating again for some time. But I would much rather conquer them all by love, if it were possible. Some indeed whom I once regarded as my enemies have on this journey shown themselves very friendly. The Ghular Aghase has been very polite to me all the way. Perhaps because I have cured his cousin's eyes.

//Between Zandgyan and Teheran there is a great plain stretching nearly all the way. At intervals along this plain there are high mounds, or hills, which were made, not by the hand of nature, but by men's hands. In the early times when Persia was a great kingdom, and before telegraphs were invented messages were sent from one part of the country to another by means of fires lighted on these mounds, one kind of fire meaning one thing, another kind or color meaning something else. As soon as these signal fires were seen on one hill the same kind of fire was lighted on the next one, and so on until the word was quickly sent to all parts of the country. When you come to read Sir Walter Scott's novels you will find that they used to do the same thing in Scotland; and even now, in our own country they send messages in the mountains of the west by flashing the sunlight by mirrors from one station to another.

//At Sultanieh which was once a great city, and the Capital of Persia, there is a Royal Palace built upon the top of one of these high mounds. It is kept in pretty good repair, and our party were quartered there. Two pleasant rooms were assigned to me having a beautiful outlook over the boundless plain. But they were so high up that I found it impossible to get my trunks up to them. The hamals (porters) carried them about two-thirds of the way up and then abandoned the undertaking and I finally had to pitch my tent on the green sward below, where there was a large encampment, and have the trunks taken back. The man who built the palace (Fath Ali Shah, I think rebuilt it) neglected to make any good roads up the hill, so that everything had to be carried on men's backs and as that was not the age of Saratoga trunks no provision was made by the longbearded monarch for such heavy pieces of baggage.

//Kasvin looks a little like the Persian cities we read of in the Poets. It has several beautiful gates covered with tile like those on the Blue Mosque, though not so beautiful as those. The Shah has a beautiful palace here in a large garden three or four times as large as Mr. Taster's (there being a number of other gardens opening into this one by large gates) and beautifully laid off with walks and terraces and fountains, and with a great many beautiful chenar trees. I did not see it when I was here before, and much of it has been newly built. It looks much like an European park. As I walked through it I wished very much that you could see it. Between the Palace and the Hotel is

a wide straight street or Boulevard made very like the streets of an European city. Wires were strung along the sides of this during its whole length nearly a quarter of a mile and lamps hung on them. In front of the hotel is a fountain and a beautiful flower garden. My room has a wide balcony on three sides of it, it being built on the roof; but it is not high up and is very pleasant.

When we came to Meana we saw many smoking fires by the way which the people had made to keep off the evil eye which they feared the strangers would bring with them. At one village an old woman brought out a pan of smoking rags and before the attendants could prevent her had thrust it white through the open window of the carriage in which the Vali Ahd was sitting. At Zandjan a great many women came out holding up small mirrors and asking for money. The meaning of this I could not ascertain. At many places women stood by the roadside with written petitions for justice which His Highness's orderly received from their hands and gave to him. At Khurramdarra a woman came up and kneeling in the road covered her head with dust. A little farther on a man had his shaven head plastered over with mud. I learned that the woman's husband had been murdered and that she thus sought redress.

Dr. Holmes was greatly concerned on this trip over the illness of Mrs. Holmes and for their two children, May and Harold, and was summoned back from Teheran by telegraph. On December 24, 1888 he wrote to the Board:

Your kind letter accepting the proposition to grant me a vacation instead of accepting my resignation was received none too soon. I have asked and obtained leave of absence from the Vali Ahd (by telegraph, he being still in Teheran) for six months, and am now starting for London with my family, the occasion being the development of an abdominal tumor in the case of Mrs. Holmes, which threatens her life, unless an operation be performed without delay.

My stay in Teheran promised to be fruitful in strengthening me in my position. The Shah called me soon after my arrival, and showed me great consideration. Minister Pratt took up a good deal of his time in introducing me to the Legations and the officers of the court. Dr. Tholozan, the Shah's Physician in Chief, showed me many marks of friendship, and had arranged another professional call for His Majesty for me, but in the midst of all the call came from Hamadan and everything was off.

We go in the Mission wagon to Tiflis, putting a bed in it and taking the children and servant in another conveyance.

Jan. 1st. Since writing the above we essayed our departure on Saturday, December 29th, but had gone but a short distance when the patient was found to be suffering so much that it was impossible to go on. Soon after our return a neighbor arrived having just come over the road from Tiflis. He reported the road as absolutely impossible for carriages and that had we gone on further, we should have been compelled to return.

We are now shut up to the alternatives of either staying here and impotently watching the course of the disease or of making the difficult and dangerous journey under circumstances of almost unparalleled difficulty. The First Secretary of the Russian Consulate has just called and he tells me that many men (fifteen or twenty)

and animals have perished on the Dilijan pass on the post road constructed at great expense by the Russian Government, while the road this side of Djulfa is only a bridle path. It seems impossible to go on, impossible to stay. We can only wait and see what the Lord has in store for us.

The Vali Ahd still remains in Teheran and now it is announced that about April fifth the Shah will start on his long talked of European tour. It is not impossible that the Vali Ahd will act as regent in that event, and it seems like a strange providence that takes me away from him at such a time..

At last they got away from Tabriz and Dr^h Holmes letter from London to Dr^h Arthur Mitchell, secretary of the Board, May 7, 1889 tells the tale:

Your kind favor of February 20th I found awaiting me on our arrival in London on the 26th ult. I thank you from my heart for its tone of warm and generous sympathy. I have felt the need of such a tonic, for I have toiled, in weariness, and painfulness, to find help for my poor suffering wife, until now I myself am well nigh undone. What she has gone through with on this dreadful journey, no tongue can tell, nor pen describe, and I should not think of mentioning my own trials in this connection, were it not that I am appalled at the expense to which we have already been subjected, and which must yet be so greatly augmented before relief can be hoped for. Our journey to Akstafa, 350 miles from Tabriz, the nearest railroad point, was distressing in the extreme, though made as easy for her as the means at our command and the loving kindness of our friends would permit. We made a bed for her in the bottom of the spring wagon, and while I sat behind and supported her Mr. Oldfather, who very kindly went with us to Tiflis, sat beside the drivers of the post horses, with his hand constantly on the brake, and succeeded to some extent in preventing rough and careless driving. But for the mission wagon in which she could recline at full length, I do not know how she could have come at all. The Dilijan pass was full of snow, we were four days in crossing it, the wagon was nearly overturned a multitude of times, once Mary was hurled out headlong near a fearful precipice; the wagon was on several occasions in imminent peril of being crushed by the heavy freight wagon in the narrow passages between the vertical walls of snow, in some places forty or fifty feet high. Carriers were provided to take Mrs. Holmes on her cot when the roads were bad. In some places she was thus carried for eight or ten miles at a stretch, but here they could not proceed and she had to be carried on a man's back for long distances. To add to the distress induced by the frequently recurring necessity of getting out and in, a storm came on at the worst part of the stage, and finally the Russian drivers, whose horses were exhausted and were constantly falling down in the traces, threatened to unhitch and leave us for the night to our fate. We persuaded them to persevere until we could reach a village near by, and then we took refuge from the storm. For two hours we labored to get a fire started, with the wet wood in the wretched hovel, before we could begin to dry our clothes and bedding, and then when we were beginning to rejoice in the mercies God given, in furnishing so good a shelter, - the only one between the two stages of sixteen miles,

we learned that five children of the family were down with smallpox. Our little boy had never succeeded in getting a satisfactory vaccination. Mrs. Holmes had little rest after that. We stopped in Tiflis and vaccinated the whole party, were up two nights with Harold, ^(four years old) watching him through an attack of croup, and then parted with Mr. Oldfather and our two men, and took train for Batoum. Our faithful nurse came on with us, and her services have indeed proved invaluable. Mrs. Holmes was very ill on the train, and Harold's fever continued rising in spite of all my remedies, and soon I found that Mary also was very ill. Arrived Batoum at 1 A.M. in the midst of a drenching rain storm, drove to the hotel to which we had been recommended, found them full, went to another and could only get a single pretense of a room, with no fire nor place for one, and with insufficient bedding. The next day we prevailed on the proprietor to lend us a room with a fire place, for a couple of days, till the steamer sailed for Constantinople. Fearful that the children might be coming down with small pox I consulted Mr. Chambers, the U. S. Consular Agent there about the expediency of hiring a small house and sending for our men who were yet in Tiflis, with the view of going into a private quarantine till the question was settled, lest a worse fate befall us. He said the town was like a mining camp, and that it would be almost an impossibility to secure a house, and moreover if the children were attacked with small pox the authorities would noletis voleis send them to the hospital. He was very kind calling frequently and assisting us in many ways. On Sunday I telegraphed Mr. Oldfather at Tiflis to await further advices, but on Monday, Harold being better, ~~we~~ took passage for Constantinople, having arranged with the Captain for stop-over tickets at Tribizond~~ff~~, for a week, if found necessary. I telegraphed Mr. Parmelee, asking him to engage a house for us there if necessary. At Tribizond~~ff~~ ~~we~~ we decided to go on, but soon repented of it bitterly. Mary's fever hung on, alternating between good and bad, but Harold grew rapidly worse and for some time we were in doubt if he would live to reach Constantinople. With her case and anxiety for the children Mrs. Holmes grew worse and I was so worn out from loss of sleep and anxiety that having dropped off to sleep one night, I arose in my sleep, examined the children carefully, and gave the nurse direction about their medicines, without any consciousness at the time, or after recollection of what I did. The nurse was very seasick, but she bore up bravely and did her part nobly, so far as it was possible for her to do.

Arrived in Constantinople we were unwilling to take the risk of carrying smallpox to the families of our friends there, so went to a hotel, remaining there from Saturday to Monday. Again found the hotel full to which we had been recommended and had to hunt up another. On Monday our friends came over and insisted on our going to Scutari with them, where we spent a most pleasant week in the hospitable home of our friends Mr. and Mrs. H. S. Barnum. Then the children being convalescent, we came on. We had expected to take the Oriental Express Sleeping car line there, which would have brought us through to Paris in three and a half days. But all the places had been engaged for two weeks ahead (trains only go weekly) so we took first class tickets on the regular train for Vienna.

The pressure and irritation of the tumor has on several occasions with Mrs. Holmes brought on convulsive attacks and several times on the road I had in addition to opiates, been compelled to resort to chloroform to allay them. We naturally felt great solicitude as to the possibility of her going so far as Vienna without a break in the journey, but there was no place except Budapest, till we reached Vienna, when we could expect to find a comfortable hotel. We were advised to take a whole compartment of six first-class seats lest we might be so crowded as to prevent Mrs. Holmes getting rest, there being but one first-class compartment on the train. This we did not do, however, and fortunately we were the only first-class passengers. We have had to bring the nurse with us first-class all the way, as we could at no time dispense with her services. We have had to make frequent stops and have had to pay dearly whenever we have done so. I have had to wrangle constantly with hotel keepers, who have wanted to make each individual of us pay full rates. Some places I have got Harold through free but to Vienna and in France I paid half fare. Mary, ten years and a half, has had to pay full fare on trains and in hotels. We have had to have fires, Mrs. Holmes meals served in her room and many other extras, and these things have given the hotel keepers an opportunity to present big bills.

Arrived here and rested over the Sabbath, and then went on at once to Birmingham. Mr. Tait at first advised an early operation, then seeing Mrs. Holmes' weakness, advised a few days delay. Later she evinced such dread of the operation and so much reluctance to have it performed that he felt unwilling to insist upon it, and so the matter rests. I am at a loss to know what to do. Will consult surgeons here about her and may bring her back here for the operation or may take her to New York, or Philadelphia or home. She cannot live long without the operation, and she is so reduced that it presents a not very hopeful outlook. I hope to settle the question within a few days. Thank God the children are now quite well. I hope to hold on myself so long as the need presents. But I have spent a great deal of the Board's money in getting here. I have done my best to avoid expense but my hands have been tied. It has seemed to me that during the past year I have been the very sport of circumstances, my own volition apparently having nothing to do with results. But there are many times when it has seemed clear that God's hand has been at the helm.

On taking my leave of the Vali Ahd he earnestly requested me to return as soon as possible. He assured me that he would send to me through the State Department an 'Ineteos' a decoration of very high grade. In many ways he has shown his friendship for me, and I am conscious that there are great opportunities for usefulness in the position I have been compelled temporarily at least to surrender.

And yet I feel in my heart that unless God plainly points the way, I ought not to return to the service of the Crown Prince. The past year has been a year of trial such as I shudder to think of seeing repeated. I have had to bear the most grave and onerous responsibilities, burdened with the feeling that in my condition of health I was wholly inadequate physically and mentally to sustain them. The Lord has enabled me to do so, and certainly he can continue to do so and will if he calls me again to undertake them. The question is only "What is His will?" I suppose I understand correctly that the Board have undertaken to give me this year's vacation and send me back to Persia, leaving it then at my option to remain in the service of the Board or to renew my engagement with the Vali Ahd.

They had left Tabriz, March 11, 1889 and arrived safely in New York on July 6th, and went on at once to Cedar Rapids.

It will be well to close this chapter with a letter from Dr. Holmes to the Board showing his generous appreciation of his fellow medical missionaries. This was his spirit always, a spirit of complete freedom from jealousy and all smallness of any kind:

Dr. Cochran is now en route, with his family, to America, for the rest and change and the opportunities for study which he so much needs after his hard labors of the past ten years. These have been eventful years for him, and for the work in Oroomiah which he has done so much to advance. He has done a great work there, and has, I trust, a still greater before him. Do not let him ask in vain for anything he needs. He will give a good account of all that is entrusted to him; and he ought to have every facility for carrying on his hospital work unimpeded by financial embarrassment.

Let me say a word regarding Dr. Torrence and his hospital in Teheran. When I decided to enter the service of the Vali Ahd I determined, with the approval of the Board, to pay a short visit to America, and do my best to raise money to complete and equip the hospital in Teheran. Now that my visit is likely to be postponed for a year, I feel all the more anxious to call ^{the} attention of the Christian people of America to the claims of this important work.

Medical missionary work in Persia certainly seems to have a bright prospect before it, in all the four centres, Teheran, Hamadan, Tabriz and Oroomiah, where American missionary physicians are stationed. The work in Teheran, under Dr. Torrence's care, is already established on a firm basis. Teheran is the political centre of Persia, and is daily growing in importance in its political and commercial relations with a large part of Central Asia. A first-class hospital in that important centre will have an influence for good far reaching and incalculable in its results. Mrs. Ferry by her generous donation, has set the ball in motion. Are there not others to whom God has given ample means who would be glad to have their names, with hers, identified with an enterprise destined to do so much toward promoting the advent of our Redeemer's kingdom.

The work of Medical education in Tabriz is in our hands if we will consent to accept it. If I had the time and strength to teach I could have a large class of Mussulman young men from the best families. A thoroughly equipped man of good physique ought to be found who could come and take up this work. It could be done with great profit to our cause. He ought to be up on experimental chemistry, microcopy, histology, pathology, etc. The doors are opening in Tabriz for educational work and for medical work, but they are becoming partially closed for other lines, and it is not unlikely that before long we shall be practically restricted to those agencies. It is the part of wisdom to do the best work we can along these lines that providence marks out for us. The time has not come for our doing much in general educational work for the Mussulmans, but in the medical department the way is clear.

IV

His Six Years in Hamadan

The next three years from ~~July~~ 1889 to 1892 were spent in America. During the winter of 1890-91 he studied at the Post Graduate Medical College in New York City, taking a degree from that institution. Neither Dr. Holmes nor Mrs. Holmes was well and while the position as personal physician to the Crown Prince was still open to him, and he received letters and telegrams urging his return, he did not feel that he could think of going back to Persia until Mrs. Holmes was quite ^{Recovered} well. He tried to settle ^{again} accordingly in private practice in Cedar Rapids, though with assurance from the Board of his re-appointment as a medical missionary whenever he could go. Mrs. Holmes health failed steadily and she died on June 28, 1890, and when his marriage to Miss Lucy S. Hale of Minneapolis, sister of Mrs. J. P. Cochran of Urumia, on September 13, 1892, gave assurance of loving and competent care of his two children he was ready for return to his work and sailed from New York on October 20, 1892.

His journey back to Persia was one long series of disasters. Indeed a malign fate seemed always to pursue his travels and even his dearest friends dreaded to travel with him, assured that ^{with him} misfortune would always follow misfortune. They were twenty-one days on an uncomfortable boat from Liverpool to Constantinople, ^{then} fourteen days ^{on the Black Sea} on an unspeakably wretched boat which stopped at ports which it had promised to pass by, three days in quarantine at Batoum, over a week in Tiflis to get straightened out, ^{and} a fortnight in getting from Tiflis to Urumia. A storm in the Black Sea shifted the cargo and soaked all their luggage with oil, ^{and} utterly ruining their clothing ^{and} supplies. Dr. Holmes's hand bag with his personal belongings was stolen in Batoum. An incompetent Vice-Consul ruined all prospects of recovering damages from the steamship

company. To complete the impression of a "hoodoo" on any party which went with Dr. Holmes, another party came through without a mishap, which left Constantinople two weeks after him. He writes of this trip:

Batoum, December 9, 1892

We have been fourteen days on this wretched steamer coming from Constantinople, long enough to cross the Pacific Ocean. We sailed Saturday P.M., November 26th. That night a terrible storm raged on the Black Sea, and after beating about for ten hours with the screw half the time in the air, and the ship often almost on her beam ends, she was put about and we returned to the Bosphorus where we waited three days for the storm to subside. Since then we have poked along from port to port, waiting four days at Tubizond to unload - almost in sight of our destination. We have had wretched accommodations and everything has been favorable for cholera, which is still prevailing in the Turkish Black Sea ports, as well as here, but so far we have escaped serious sickness. We have lost all our personal baggage, however, the heads of a lot of oil barrels having been stove in during the storm and our trunks were deluged out and in with oil, everything, so far as we have yet investigated, being utterly ruined.

Batoum, December 10, 1892.

We had hardly reached our hotel yesterday before Mr. Wright and family came in. They sailed from Constantinople on Sunday, December 11th and came through in fifty-three hours, the sea being smooth as a pond and quarantine ^{here} ~~being~~ having been raised as they stopped at no intermediate port. They came on the Minquilia, the best steamer of the ^{same} line, the Paquet, as that on which we came. Such are the fortunes of travelers.

Urumia, February 18, 1893

Our journey has been in many ways a calamitous one. I have often called to mind Poe's lines of the 'unhappy master, whom unmerciful disaster followed fast and followed faster.' and wondered when my implacable fate would cease to pursue me. When I wrote you from Batoum we had lost all our baggage and then had let the hope of recovering their value slip through our fingers through the incompetence of our Vice Consul. From Tiflis I wrote you that I was in great anxiety about my wife whose health was so seriously threatened that had it been possible to stop there or to get back to Constantinople without great trouble and expense I should not attempt to go on with the certainty of having to encounter great hardships due to the lateness of the season. We were both of us pretty thoroughly used up in Tiflis. We had to get something to wear as we had nothing left but old clothes hardly fit to wear longer and we had to overhaul our damaged goods and make an effort to have the wash goods freed from oil. We succeeded in using up what little strength Mrs. Holmes had left but did not succeed in saving anything. The oil could not be removed from the woollens and the linens were so stained and spotted as to be worthless. We finally made a start and set out on our journey, Mrs. Holmes' health being somewhat improved, and were ten travelling days getting through to Djulfa, a journey usually requiring four days, besides being detained one day by the snow blockade. At Djulfa letters came from Tabriz asking me to come on there in the hope that I might help them out of their troubles about the closure of the school and Church, But my wife was in danger of another breakdown of her health and I felt that we must go on direct to Oroomiah though Mr. Whipple had come on from Tabriz with a wagon for us. The weather fortunately

was good from Djulfa on to Gav^{al}an and we got on comfortably as might be but at ^{Isfahan} ~~Gav~~ Mrs. Holmes was quite ill and had not Dr. Cochran come on with a spring wagon she could not have come on. She has suffered severely from nerve prostration and I have been very anxious about her here lest she might become permanently invalided. She is now, however, thank God, quite out of danger from that cause and will, I hope, soon recover her usual health and tone. She has suffered much from insomnia which still troubles her to some extent but her general health is much improved. Our enforced delays in Constantinople, on the Black Sea, in Tiflis, and on the road have resulted in further heavy expense for men and animals sent to meet us and kept waiting in expectation of our coming. These expenses, like everything else on this fateful journey, are wholly beyond all precedent, and although we are in no sense responsible for their being incurred we have been greatly distressed by them. If we get through to Hamadan without being robbed and stripped of our remaining clothes, we shall consider ourselves fortunate.²

The winter was spent in Urumia, helping Dr. Cochran in the medical work and pouring forth, as he always did, a rich evangelistic influence, and then as soon as the roads were passable in the spring for the caravan travel, which alone could go over them in the days ~~long~~ before automobiles, he went on to his new station at Hamadan, arriving on March 31st.

Hamadan, April 19, ¹⁸⁹³ 1955.

Our journey was a very difficult and dangerous one at this time of the year, and I feel thankful that we have accomplished it in comparative safety. Mary has been laid up with a malarial fever, and a severe bronchial trouble most of the time since our arrival, but is now nearly well. Mrs. Holmes is far from well but bore the fatigues of the journey better than I could have expected. We left one man by the way however (our cook) dangerously ill of pneumonia, while the man we

brought on in his place and also our hostler, together with the charvadar, the man who brought our loads, were all bitten by the "malla", a venomous insect which infests the country, and all were very ill before and after their arrival.

We left ^{U u} ~~Greenia~~ as early as we dared to do so on account of snow, neither did we dare to wait longer fearing the spring rains would make our journey impossible, and on the whole we chose the best time. We encountered much cold and wind and in crossing the ~~Mambulak~~ pass at an elevation of probably nine thousand feet we encountered a furious snow storm with high wind, a regular western blizzard, which threatened every moment to block our way and bury us. The snow beneath was soft and treacherous, except for a trail from one to two feet in width, hardened by travel, and our animals were continually falling and with difficulty being restored to the path. Had we lost the road or had we met another caravan, such as we met just before reaching the snow line (a large one), the situation would have been of the extremest gravity as in the latter case our small party would have been thrust off into the snow and left to recover our way as best we might. Many travelers lose their lives in this way every year on these mountains. The journey this way is a very attractive one in the autumn or later in the spring and summer, but at this season no one would hazard the journey with a family a second time. It began to rain soon after our arrival and rained almost continuously for ten days. I find a great contrast in the spiritual aspect of the work between this and Tabriz. That seems to me the hardest field we have almost anywhere. \

His work at Hamadan opened auspiciously, and the first incidents were typical of the kind of contacts and service which marked his work always. He writes under date of July 14, 1893:

"I was called to ^uK^uerdistan to see the Ameer ⁱA Nizan, who is now Governor General of ^uK^uerdistan and Kermanshah. Soon after my arrival I sent him my salaams by the Secretary of the British Legation, and soon after received a telegram from him asking me to come and saying that an escort would be furnished me. I wrote Mr. Dollar last week some of the details of my visit. Our relations had been a little strained before my departure from Tabriz, owing to Russian intrigues, and I was not quite sure as to his feeling toward me. But this was not long left in doubt. He sent an official to receive me outside the city, and a large deputation to escort me in, sending led horses and his own richly caparisoned Arab for me to ride, and I was received at the castle with military honor and by himself with a warm embrace. During all my stay there I was treated as a distinguished and honored guest. As the Ameer is generally considered as the ablest man in Persia, and as he is liable at any time to be called to the highest office, his friendship is worth having, and I was glad to have it so publicly manifested.

"I am very greatly pleased with the change from Tabriz here where the atmosphere is wholly different, both physically and spiritually. This is regarded as a turbulent city, and but recently there were grave fears of a wholesale massacre of the Jews by their Moslem neighbors. But on the other hand there is vastly greater freedom in our work here, many of the higher classes sending their sons and daughters to our schools, and no objection being made to it, a thing impossible in Tabriz, except in a temporary expedient. The schools are well attended and the results unusually satisfactory, so far as I can judge. The Jewish boys are quick and intelligent, and in

their studies take the lead of the Armenians. I found a medical class organized by Dr. Wilson, consisting of two Jewish young men of great promise. Another Jew was added, and a Mussulman, son of the leading Mohammedan physician here, and these all we are together teaching with great satisfaction to ourselves, and profit, I am sure, to them. They all know English, the first two very well, and the Jews we believe to be earnest Christians and full of promise. I have had an exceptional amount of surgical work to do since coming here.☞

For six years Dr. Holmes worked in Hamadan and left an indelible impression on the city. He won the respect and friendship of governors and officials and understood and conformed to the requirements of oriental etiquette. The whole city looked up to him as a man of probity and goodness and courage who would tell the truth and render and require justice in all places high and low. He was a bulwark of defence of the people, and especially of the oppressed Jewish and Armenian communities. He carried on scholarly conferences with Jews and Moslems and especially with the ^Bahais. He was the one competent physician in the province and gave his service without restraint to rich and poor. There was about him a tenderness and sympathy which, with his dignity and repose, gave him unique access to human hearts. 'I thought when his hands were on my face as he took the cataracts from my eyes', said an old blind woman to whom he gave sight, 'that they were the very hands of Christ.' He educated a number of young men in his medical class who became the leading native physicians of the city. While a doctor with his local responsibility, he was also a tireless evangelist and believed thoroughly in the work of wide itineration in both the medical and the evangelistic work.

A few extracts from his letters will suffice to illustrate the work of the years:

Hamadan, January 13, 1894..

My visit to Khassoabad was quite successful in the immediate object of the visit, viz: the treatment of the patient, and served to cement more strongly an old friendship with the husband of the patient, Hajji Alehyar Khan, General, a wealthy and influential Kaordish Chief. Its spiritual results also were, I trust, of value. I had many long and earnest conversations with him and his retainers, in which the claims of Christ as the Saviour of the world were set forth as best I could. He is, I believe, a sincere seeker after God, and I trust will find the true light that lighteth every man. He promises to send his son, a bright boy, to our school here after a while, on condition that I will afterwards make a physician of him.

^{of all Persia missionaries}
The Conference is finally settled for May 10th to meet at Hamadan. The interest in the subject is increasing among our missionaries, and there is promise of a very profitable meeting.

Hamadan, June 8, 1894

We were disappointed in the failure of the Conference to meet this spring, but it may be that the delay will be for the best in securing more active cooperation from all parts of the field. I have recently called attention in letters to the West Persia Mission to the urgent need of a Conference such as we have now twice unsuccessfully ^tattempted, for the consideration of some of the problems which confront us and demand a hearing. I have deprecated the tendency towards specialization of our work, to such an extent as to forbid our maintaining an intelligent, and an active and personal interest in the work as a whole. Few ^{if} any of these problems can be settled in advance. With most of them we must look for light as we go on, and shape our course in accordance with providential indications. But this does not forbid our thinking

about them, and trying to obtain light upon them. And to think intelligently we must know what our brethren, who are facing the same problems, are thinking about them and what efforts they have made to solve them and with what success.

For some months we have observed an increasing spirit of inquiry among the Jews here, and a number of their leading men, including several prominent physicians, have met with our missionaries on a stated day, week by week, to discuss the question of the advent of the promised deliverer of Israel. It was recently reported that a large number of Jews, fifty or more, had made an agreement with each other that in case they found the truth in Christ they would accept of Him. The number is probably greatly exaggerated, but there can be no doubt that it has a basis of fact. Indeed it has attracted so much attention that the leaders of Islam have taken note of it, and two of the principal Jewish physicians, who have been identified with the movement have been called before them, and threatened with persecution if they become Christians. We are earnestly praying that they may all have grace given them to confess Christ and to follow Him in sincerity.

Our country and our Government have been repeatedly brought into contempt by the character of the men sent here as Ministers to Persia, not to represent us, nor to represent our country, but to pay off political debts. It is disheartening. It is disgraceful. We would be infinitely better off were the Legation abolished and ourselves put under the protection of some government that has self respect enough to maintain a semblance of decency in its diplomatic service. I am intensely in earnest in maintaining that it is the duty of the Board to see that if our Government persist in this suicidal policy, the facts be brought

to the attention of Congress, and the Legation abolished. I believe that all the missionaries would prefer this of the two alternatives though I am writing this on my own responsibility.

Mr. ~~Benjamin~~ (who, however, I think had the endorsement of the Board) wrote a sensational book loaded with vile gossip concerning the private character of the Sovereign, his family and his court, which naturally greatly incensed the Shah. His immediate successor brought a sensational newspaper correspondent with him to caricature the Government to which he was accredited and himself (the minister) disgusted everybody by his coarseness.

I have now the chief persecutor of the Jews under professional treatment, and hope to allay some of his prejudices against them and the Christians. The Jewish physicians have asked me to organize a class in physical diagnosis and this I want to do.

In 1896 he took his daughter Mary to Tabriz on her way home to America and wrote from there on May 19, 1896:

The Shah took his departure for Teheran yesterday, - expects to make the journey in ten days. Of course there was an immense crowd to see him off. Dr. Vanneman and I sat on our horses by the side of the avenue as his carriage went by. He recognized us and bowed twice and saluted. I had another interview with him after your going (the third to that time). He made me sit down immediately before him (on the floor) patted me affectionately on the back, and said I must come to Teheran with him, had me carefully examine his heart, etc. Hakim ul Mulk (the Persian physician) came again and used many arguments to induce me to return to the Shah's service promising that I should have everything my own way and that he and the rest of them would do the hard work for me, etc.

I have long since learned to place little reliance on Persian promises and have no desire to leave the work the Lord has given me to do in Hamadan so long as I have strength to do it. This week the Surur es Saltaneh Khanum, the Shah's favorite wife, who was my friend in the past, sent to inquire for my health, and to say that she wished to see me soon, and asked me to accept the Shah's proposal. She has a young son, born since the Shah's accession, and many think he will be the Vali Ahd, if he lives. I have positively refused to go to Teheran with the harem.

In his report for 1897 he writes:

The Dispensary has been open continuously throughout the year. The attendance has been usually large, and many patients come from long distances, - five, ten or more days journey, for treatment. A number of surgical operations have been made, some of exceptional gravity. An important feature of the Dispensary service during the past year has been the treatment of victims of the opium habit who are almost as numerous in many parts of Persia as in China.

The demand for educated physicians keep more than pace with all that all our medical centers can do to qualify them. Mirza who studied with my predecessor, Dr. Alexander, and Saeed, the converted Kurd, who afterwards studied a while in England and returned, has had his hands full of practice since, and has recently been invited to go with the family of Ain ed Dowleh (whose wife is daughter of the present Shah) to Teheran, and since his arrival there he has been strongly urged by the prince and princess to remain permanently in their service. And this although he had told them at the outset that he was a Christian and though he unhesitatingly bears joyful testimony at every opportunity to

Christ as the only and all-sufficient Saviour.

It is a rule with few exceptions in my experience that we find local governors friendly and desirous of complying with reasonable demands. But the real power of even the strongest governor is very limited, and if an offender seeks refuge in the grounds of a mujtahid, he can defy the governor with impunity. There can be no question that the present government is much weaker than the last one and that the power of the priesthood has correspondingly become magnified. We try to keep on pleasant terms with these mujtaheds, as it makes things work much smoother.

In the latter part of May in company with Mrs. Holmes I set out on a tour intending to include Siⁿkan, Taserkan, Nahavend, Buruj^{ir}ud, Kazzas, S^{al}attapⁿabad, or Arak and Mals^{ir}. Owing to the excessive heat and to the distractions on the part of the people due to month of mourning which fell at that time, the tour was abbreviated by leaving our Nahavend and Buruj^{ir}ud. Notwithstanding these drawbacks we were beset by great multitudes at every point all of them seeking the healing of the body while but very few cared for the interests of their souls. For these few it was difficult in the midst of the clamor for medical treatment to find an opportunity to have any really profitable conversation and it was always a relief to meet a few individuals by the way-side or in a garden to whom we could tell of Christ and their need of salvation in Him without interruption. I could appreciate, as I had seldom done before, the purpose of our Saviour in so often enjoining on those whom he had healed that they should tell no man.

Doubtless it was sometimes for the same reason that on nearing Hoseⁱⁿabad on Saturday afternoon I strictly charged servants and charvada^u that they should let no man know that I was a physician until we should be ready to depart on Monday morning. The result was that we had a very quiet restful sabbath and had most delightful talks with two small companies of men and women in the afternoon in a garden outside the village. Mani, our faithful Nestorian woman, who had been with us for fourteen years continuously accompanied Mrs. Holmes and she was very earnest in making known the way of life in Christ to the poor village women who only knew in some vague way that he was one of the one hundred and twenty-four thousand prophets, and as such a sinless person and to be venerated by Mussulmans as well as Christians. Mirza Dumel was very helpful as ever before, but he also was a physician and men listen but perfunctorily to the preaching of the Gospel when their main object is at the very earliest practical moment to catch the eye of the physician and engage his interest in their principal disabilities. The physician should always on evangelistic tour be accompanied by a clerical missionary or by a helper not a physician in order to improve to the fullest extent the opportunities for preaching the Gospel thus offered. ↵

Of his last class of medical students he wrote:

Hamadan, Persia, April 19, 1899.

↵ On Monday we had the graduating exercises of the 'Medical Class of 1899' at St. Stephen's Church, Mirzas Assatur, Hayeem Meyer, Raheem and Yakob graduating. They all had good theses but Hayeem's on "Diphtheria and Antitoxin," and Raheem's on the

"Circulation of the Blood" were received best by the audience and they were both very good, Mirza Raheem doing himself great credit.

The governor came with a large retinue and the church was crowded, many doubtless coming more to see the governor than the graduating class. Yesterday the governor sent me a very eulogistic letter, saying he was sorry he had not known earlier about it as he would have had khalats for each one. He sent a bag containing fifty tomans to enable each one to buy a garment suitable for the conditions. I called on him this evening. He showed me great honor, and when I came away he took me by the hand and walked with me a long way toward the garden gate. I can never understand why it is that every governor I meet shows me so much friendship. This man is a real live governor, much such a man as the Ameer Nizam was when we lived in Tabriz. He had sent me a Noruz (New Years) present of seventy five tomans only a little while before.

Mrs. Holmes had been obliged by ill-health to return to America in 1898, Dr. Holmes coming with her to England and then going back to Hamadan. It became evident soon that Mrs. Holmes could not wisely return to Persia and Dr. Holmes reluctantly concluded that he must give up his work. ^{permanently} In the fall of 1899 accordingly he came back to America for the last ^{ten} ~~two~~ years of his life. Mrs. Holmes happily recovered sufficiently for them to set up their home for themselves and the two children, and in later years Mrs. Holmes had to care for him as much as he for her. And though she seemed much more frail than he, she has survived him these twenty-four years. During their last years ^{in America} ~~together~~ they lived chiefly in Wellesley, Massachusetts, and Boonton, New Jersey.

His Mystical Vision

Dr. Holmes came to his work with nothing but the most practical training - the training first of a soldier and then of a doctor, but he was of a rarely meditative and introspective type and his last two years, as we shall see, were the story of a soul played upon by alternate sunlight and shadow. During his years in Persia, also, there were deep successive and interpenetrative moods. Whether in his work in his station or on the long horse back journeys in the country, his mind would be rapt away in speculation in philosophy and religion like Henry Martyn's as he journeyed through ^{these same} ~~the snow~~ regions, and again and again he was as one no longer in the body, as, wholly conscious and riding ^{over} ~~among~~ the mountains, his spirit was lifted into great visions.

One of these he regarded as the greatest and most real experience of his life. It occurred in 1898 in the little village of Varseh in western Persia. He wrote of it in 1908 as follows, accompanying a revised version of the vision:

Boonton, N.J., May 19, 1908

"In view of much with which you are acquainted that has occurred in my spiritual experience during the nearly ten years that have elapsed since Varseh, it may not be inappropriate for me to say to you that I look upon that event as the most real fact of my life. This opinion, - rather should I say, this conviction, grows more strong as the deeper meanings of the vision unfold themselves through the years. That its significance is yet exhausted, I cannot believe."

The vision occurred on his journey in October 1898 to Hamadan from London where he had gone to see Mrs. Holmes off to America. His account of the circumstances as he once wrote it out was as follows:

"A short time before my leaving London for Persia, in October 1898, the words of Habakkuk II:20, came to me one day very unexpectedly, and impressed me so strongly that I tried to look them up, but could not find them even with the aid of the Oxford Bible's very unsatisfactory concordance. "The Lord is in His holy temple; let all the earth keep silence before Him." They recurred to my mind again and again, during the remainder of my stay in London, and during my journey to Hamadan. I meditated much upon them, and felt that they contained a reproof to me, who had permitted the world to occupy my thoughts to an extent dishonoring to Him who sat in the temple of my heart and on whose presence I had permitted many thoughts to intrude with which I had occupied my mind during my stay in London, to an undue degree. I was also led to meditate much on Deut. 29:29,- "Those things which are revealed belong to us and to our children....that we may do all the words of this law."

"On my way I read and meditated much on the Scriptures, and read through with great interest, John Wilkinson's book 'Israel my Glory'. I set out on my overland journey to Hamadan, stopping over the Sabbath at a small village, Varseh, after six days' journey, during which I had confined my reading and meditation wholly to the Scriptures, and the subject of the Kingdom of God. I had to an unusual degree sought to keep my mind free from all secular topics, and to make my heart the dwelling of the Lord Jesus. The fifteenth Chapter of John was much in my thoughts during this time.

"At Varseh during the Sabbath rest, I thought much concerning the work I should take up in Hamadan, being desirous to utilize my possibly very brief remaining opportunities for work, to the best advantage for the interests of the Kingdom of God.

It had long been my purpose to utilize the insight I had gained into the doctrines of Bahaism, in preparing a tract for circulation among the Jews of Hamadan, in the hope of at least checking their tendency to give up the light they possessed, for so spurious and demoralizing a faith as that of Bahaism, a revival of the Gnostic faiths which so bitterly opposed the teachings of Christ in the early days of Christianity. But I did not feel sure of my ability properly to deal with the question, nor was I quite sure that all my associates would approve of the line of argument which I had adopted in my discussions with the apostles of that faith in Hamadan. I had been impressed in reading John Willinson's book, with the frequency with which he had asked a sign of God, as an indication of His will in regard to contemplated undertakings, and with the answers thereto, and I determined to ask God's direction in the matter before me, in a different way from what I had ever adopted before. I knelt down and asked that God would graciously show me His will concerning the matter in question, and that if it was His purpose that I should undertake that work, He would either put it into my heart to ask for some special sign, or else that He would Himself give me a sign of His own choosing, which I might clearly understand, and that this might be vouchsafed to me on the present journey, before my reaching Hamadan, six days' journey distant.

At the same time I prayed that Christ would abide in my heart according to His manifold promises in John 15 and elsewhere, and I said, "I have the warrant in thine own words, O Lord, for believing, that my prayer, which is the prayer of faith, is already answered, and that thou dost at this moment occupy my heart as thy dwelling place." And I quoted Mark 11, 24. While I was yet speaking these words in prayer, I realized that Christ, the Lord of Glory, had presented Himself at the portals of my heart, attended by a great multitude of the heavenly host.

The full revised story of his experience was as follows:

"I had been travelling several weeks continuously, and had, accompanied by my cook and hostler, stopped for the Sabbath rest, at the little mountain village

of Varseh. During all this time reading and meditation on the word of God had occupied almost my entire leisure time. I had been oppressed by the thought that my work in the past had been unfruitful of good, and I was anxiously considering whether or not I should take up, in connection with my other duties, a new line of work which had strongly appealed to me for some time. Not long before, in reading an account of a successful evangelistic work among the Jews, I was impressed by the frequency with which the author had asked, and as he believed obtained, a sign from God, directing him in cases of doubt. For the first time in my life I determined to ask for a definite sign, that I might know the will of God in this matter. I knelt down and asked of God that if it was His will that I should undertake the work in question He would either put it into my heart to ask for some special sign, or else that He would himself give me a sign of His own choosing, which I might clearly understand. I asked also that I might have, if consistent with the will of God, an answer to my prayer before my arrival at the destination of my present journey, six days journey distant. At the same time I felt moved to ask that Christ would manifest His presence to my consciousness. I said "I have the warrant in thine own words, O Lord, for believing that my prayer of faith is already answered," and I quoted Mark 11:24, "All things whatsoever ye pray and ask for, believe that ye have received them, and ye shall have them."

(Revised Version)

//While I was speaking the announcement came to me in some impersonal way, as if by the voices of children in the street, that the Lord was at hand. In my thought I hurried into the street, and there, adjoining the house in which I lodged, and opening directly on the street, at a point where the line of the street cut deeply into the lot, I saw a low, narrow, squalid, mud hovel, which I intuitively recognized as my own heart, the impersonal representative of myself, the temple of God, within which I had invited him to manifest his presence. And as I looked and I saw the Lord of glory, attended by a great & glorious retinue, coming down the

narrow street and turning in directly in front of the door of my heart. All were magnificently mounted, and apparently the Lord was expecting to find room for himself and all his train in the hovel, whose door would hardly admit a child standing upright. I saw myself present in a second personality, as a deeply interested spectator, but as I realized how mean and narrow was the place which I had invited the Lord ^{Jesus} to occupy as my guest I was filled with shame, and I ran before the Lord and called at the gate of my heart, in the words of the Psalmist, "Lift up your heads, O ye gates; And be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors: And the King of Glory shall come in." And as the Lord drew nigh the low and forbidding gateway gave place in an instant to a lofty portal, through whose amplitude of archway I looked in as the Lord passed through with His train. I saw the interior of a magnificent temple, already grand and spacious, since the Lord had entered, but each moment growing more grand and more spacious, until it seemed to have a wideness "like the wideness of the sea", and the glory of its interior was beyond description. But as I entered the gates, following the cavalcade, and feeling myself to be an insignificant atom in the midst of all these glories, I felt that, not yet was the temple worthy of Him who had graciously come to hallow it with His presence., and I repeated, again and again, the sublime invocation of the 24th Psalm. But strangely enough, I felt irresistibly constrained to join with it the apostrophe to the soul in "The Chambered Nautilus":

"Build thee more stately mansions, O my soul,
As the swift seasons roll;
Leave thy low-vaulted past;
Let each new temple, nobler than the last,
Shut thee from heaven with a dome more vast, ~~tho~~
length / Till thou at last art free"

I saw no incongruity in repeating these inspiring lines, even in the very presence chamber of God.

//As I looked again I saw more of the proportions of the stately edifice which the Lord of all the earth had glorified with His presence. Grand and beautiful it was, beyond all effort at description. Yet so vast was it all, with

its great central dome of extraordinary amplitude, and a bewildering succession of arches, galleries, aisles, transepts, chapels, courts,&c.,&c., as seeming to have no end. And I saw that all, floors and galleries, yes, even the vast throne itself, were filled with a dense throng of witnesses, each one intently gazing upon the central figure of this wonderful scene. And as I turned to Him, I saw the Lord sitting on the throne in the midst, high and lifted up, and the multitude of the heavenly host in attendance upon Him, - his ministers, "hearkening unto the voice of his word."

And then I realized that I was no mere spectator on an occasion so wonderful. I was the unspeakably honored host of the Son of God, who had come as a guest, with so great a retinue, to my humble abode. As His host it was my privilege to render to Him my personal service, and at once, without stopping to think anything about my own personal fitness, or of my mean attire, I proceeded through the midst of the waiting multitudes nearest Him, straight to the throne where He sat, and, casting myself before my Saviour, I kissed His feet, and out of its fulness, poured out unto Him my heart's tribute of gratitude and joy. At once He arose, and signified to me to rise and stand beside Him. As I did so the magnificent temple and the great assembly were to me as though they were not, for my whole thought was wrapped up in the contemplation of Him, of whom, and through whom and to whom was the meaning and purpose of all the rest. The multitude about the throne and throughout the temple inclosure was in numbers, countless. I supposed them to be the redeemed saints of earth, but I did not recognize a single face among them all. I indeed, scarcely thought of them, except as beings who served the Lord. Their attention was fixed on Him, as was mine.

On arising the Lord looked over the assembly, but I heard him speak to no one until he addressed me. His look, doubtless, was quite as expressive to those that waited on Him as words. He then turned to me and said, "Will you go with me

to my garden?" I gladly assented and walked by his side down the steps of the throne and through the midst of the great throng of servitors, to a little door at an interior angle of the temple. The door was shut, and I fancied it was locked, though the Lord did not use a key to open it. It opened into a small court or conservatory in which were growing a number of trees. Most of these were like fruit trees, though they were all small, and few of them, apparently, were bearing. It appeared to be more like a nursery, where immature trees were being cared for, than a pleasure garden worthy of its surroundings.

[[The Lord led me at once to a small tree, which I thought very lacking in beauty. It looked something like a wild plum tree, it was but little more than an inch in the diameter of its trunk, and it bore a very few small, plum-like fruits. He plucked one of these and gave it to me to eat, saying as he did so, "This tree I planted and my Father has carefully tended it. We come often to eat of its fruit, of which we are very fond." It seemed to me to be a rather insipid fruit, but I said nothing, and the Lord, looking me in the eye with a peculiar expression continued, "Do you know from what seed I planted this tree?" I had already divined from his manner the truth, for his look was one of great tenderness and love, and it conveyed the faintest suggestion of mystic understanding between us. I replied, "I suppose it is the fruit of a certain trial in my experience," the meaning until then failed to interpret. A smile of assent assured me that I had rightly answered. It also confirmed my impression of a mystic relation existing between us which I would be given to understand more fully in the future. I then observed that two other persons were present with us whose coming I had not before noticed, and I think they came in by another door. They were both young in appearance, hardly more than thirty. I immediately recognized them as John and Paul, felt quite at ease with them, and talked familiarly with them, and they with me. I remember quoting something from their own epistles to each of them, but cannot recall what the quotations were, nor anything of the tenor of our conversation. Presently the Lord said to me, looking at me with the

same peculiar expression as before, "I have other gardens, to which I will take you another day." Just then I became conscious that my feet were cold, and that I was still on my knees in my Persian lodging place. I was equally conscious of myself standing in the presence of the Lord in the garden. I remember that I was a trifle embarrassed over the question which presented itself to my mind whether the chill in my legs, which now became more pronounced, should be interpreted as an intimation that the interview was terminated, and whether I ought to yield to the inrush of my usual consciousness or not. While this thought was passing, rapidly, through my mind, in an instant I found myself in my room, with my servants waiting at the door to prepare the table for my dinner.

"I do not remember that, at the time, I took any thought about the appearance of Jesus or the apostles, nor as to how they were dressed. But as soon as the vision had passed, I sought to recall, so far as possible, all its details, so that I might lose nothing of their significance. Jesus appeared to be about the age at which he began his earthly ministry, and Paul and myself, as well as John, were apparently about the same age. (Where time has ceased will all distinctions which time has made in the past disappear?) There was a resemblance between the three in their general cast of feature, which was, I thought, more Saxon than Jewish in type, and represented the perfection of manly grace and dignity. I had very many times in the past tried to picture to my mind the features of our Lord, always by casting them in a Jewish mold, and I had studied Jewish faces for many years for the type I sought. I had never found it there or elsewhere. But when He revealed himself, how true to me were the words of the Psalmist, "I shall be satisfied when I awake, with thy likeness." There was nothing about Him but His own innate majesty and grace to indicate who He was, but He needed nothing more. He was, I think, clothed substantially the same as the apostles, though I can

recall nothing of the details of their costume. I intuitively recognized John and Paul likewise, though the latter looked so very different from all my preconceived ideas of his appearance. It is my impression, as I have later recalled the matter, that the four of us who were together in the conservatory all were attired in the graceful form of Persian dress of the earlier half of the last century. Neither Jesus nor the others had long hair. This would not have been expected in Paul (except by an "old master"), after reading his opinion of long-haired men. There was never a suggestion of the effeminacy and immaturity of feature, so absurdly, but almost uniformly given to the portraits of Jesus by painters of all schools.

Dinner was soon announced, and as I sat down to the table the impression made by the vision was so strong that I felt as if I must return at once to the service of the Lord in his immediate presence. So real did it still seem to me that I was almost at the point of speaking to my servants about what I had seen, and telling them to seek for themselves admission to the temple, and see its glories for themselves. As I began to eat I heard a dervish shouting in the yard.. I was trying very hard to hold in my mind as long as possible the glory of the vision lest it should too quickly fade away, but the voice of the dervish served as a scene shifter to introduce me to another vision, differing widely in some respects from the one I had just witnessed. I still retained a mental picture of the temple architecture almost as vivid as before, but here and there I was startled to see a bit of common place Persian construction thrusting itself forward in the place of the other, like the spicules of newly forming ice on the surface of a pool of water. In spite of my utmost efforts mentally to inhibit them, these intruding elements rapidly took shape, and, as in a dissolving view, the glory of the temple, the fitting dwelling^{place} of the Lord of all the earth, gave place to the familiar features of a Persian caravansarai. But it was a caravansarai in ruins. The foundation and the outer walls were apparently well preserved, for the most part, but all the rest was in an advanced

stage of decay and desolation. The inner walls were in ruins, the roofs, of arched masonry, were everywhere caved in, the arches over doors and windows were broken, the gates were crumbling, every scrap of wood or iron that originally entered into the construction of the building had, with one exception noted below, been carried off by despoilers, the doorway was choked with rubbish, and the earthen floor, which had been the resting place of cattle and sheep, had, after recent rains, been trampled into a deep compost of mud and muck. Anything more forbidding would have been hard to find in all the Shah's dominions. But there was one feature of the building that, for some reason, particularly attracted my attention. It is stated above that all the woodwork had disappeared from the building, but here was a timber, very rotten and very grimy which jutted out from some point in the interior of the edifice. This projected partly across the gateway and dipped so low as to endanger the head of a mounted man who should seek to enter. It was perhaps because it so strongly menaced the heads of unwary travelers that it was invested with so particular forbidding a character to my mind.

~~W~~ I had hardly become conscious of the complete transformation of the temple, when I felt, rather than heard the announcement that the Lord of hosts was again approaching. I was dimly conscious that in some way I was myself personally identified with this building, as I had been with the other out of which it had developed, or rather degenerated. I was distressed that the Lord should find me still less prepared to receive Him, immediately after so gracious a manifestation of Himself as He had just granted to me, and I put forth yet greater efforts to purge my mind of its unworthy guest, and to restore in my thoughts the glories of the temple as before, for the Lord's occupancy. It was all in vain. A great procession, this time mounted on solemn, and elegantly caparisoned camels, with the Lord Himself at its head, approached the portals of my heart as before. The nearer the calvacade approached the more wretched and ruinous appeared the building, until, when the

V.

heavenly company reached the gate, it stood before us all, the most vile and despicable structure of the kind - I might almost say of any kind, -that my eyes had ever beheld. Again I was a wondering spectator, this time apparently unnoticed by any of the actors in the great drama. As the Lord and his retinue passed within the gate, I followed near the head of the procession until the Lord, followed by as much of His train as there was room for, reached the center of the inner, covered court. Then to my wondering eyes was presented another transformation scene of such exquisite beauty and significance as to transform all effort at description. I can only rudely interpret into the common forms of speech the impressions it made upon me. As the Lord halted in the center of the court, I perceived a fine, flaky, golden dust coming down through all the broken arches of the roof, and softly sifting itself over everything in the interior of the building, glinting and shimmering in the mellow light as it fell. Whatever was touched by this golden shower was immediately changed into forms of sweetness and beauty. All the filth of the muddy floor was decomposed, the little pools were filled and made sweet, and speedily the entire floor of the caravansarai was covered with a pavement of gold such as John saw in the New Jerusalem, a pavement as soft and elastic as the richest of Persia's looms could supply, but one which moth or rust could never corrupt.* (See foot note on p 12)

* I was particularly surprised at the effect of the golden shower on the unsightly beam which I have described above. Instead of its being covered up, or transformed, as expected after seeing what had been done elsewhere by this agent, it was apparently vaporized by contact with the disinfecting dust. It at once began to shrink and in a few minutes entirely disappeared. Then, as I looked, I beheld another great wonder. The building, already quite large, assumed by degrees a height and amplitude approaching, in some measure, that of the temple in the first scene, but it still retained all the features of a caravansarai. then, throughout the whole vast expanse of wall, domes, arches, etc., now so greatly

V.

magnified in their proportions, unseen hands laid on, with lightning rapidity, the most artistic decorations,- mosaics, reliefs, arabesque, and intricate traceries, Saracenic, it appeared, in its character. This was done so rapidly that great areas of finished work appeared in an instant where was bare brick or stone wall.

~~W~~ In the greatly enlarged area of the building the number of the Lord's attendants did not this time appear to be large. Of them all, I recognized none but him, but I did not approach near his person, and apparently he took no notice of me. The scene soon faded away, and I found myself again alone in my room with my two servants.

*Note: Gold is the only name I can give to this dust. I did not, however, ~~really~~ understand it to be really gold, its properties being infinitely more precious than those possessed by ordinary gold.

~~W~~ In the first scene of the vision I was conscious only of what I may call my subliminal personality, from its beginning until the moment I felt the chill in my members. Then I became conscious both of the personality concerned with the vision and of that of my everyday life. After that, for a little while the two were at the same time in conscious activity, with the latter dominant. Then, as the second scene was presented, while both personalities were in active and conscious exercise, the vision personality was strongest. All in its province was real, my performance in eating my dinner, and conversing with the servants, seemed to me to have less of the ~~reality~~ elements of reality than the other. I sat at the table, eating and chatting with my servants, and replying to their questions about their daily duties, etc., while at the same time I saw myself looking on at another scene, as different from this as heaven is from earth, and standing in a Presence whose glory filled the universe.

~~W~~ After finishing my dinner I sat for some time, trying to recall to mind all that I had seen and heard, and to interpret its meaning. The first scene was plainly enough an answer, granted 'while I was speaking,' to the petition I had made for the

manifestation of Christ to my consciousness. But I was puzzled as to the meaning of the second scene, in which I could discover no relation to the first, and but little to the burden of my prayer. An hour or more had passed when suddenly it flashed on my mind that I had made two separate petitions, and that one of them was for a sign. But my attention had been so absorbed in the answer I had received to the one petition that the other had passed quite out of my mind, so much so, indeed, that for some time I could not recall for what purpose I had asked a sign. Then it all came back to me, and as it did so I began dimly to comprehend a relation between the two events which presently grew definite and clear cut in its outlines.

// I had asked that the sign given might be one that I could understand. The sign having been given, I therefore assumed it as settled that I should interpret it correctly. I also anticipated another manifestation of the Lord's presence at an early date. I understood the first appearance of the Lord as a personal visitation to me. It was designed to teach many important lessons but its ministry was intended for the heart rather than for the reason. The second appearance I understood to relate to the subject about which the sign had been asked. I believed it to foreshadow the ultimate evangelization of Persia, symbolized by the caravansarai, the camels, etc., and the association of temple and caravansai I believed to indicate that the work of evangelization would be accomplished through the instrumentality of Christians of the Jewish race. As the work I had in contemplation was intended primarily to reach the Jews of Persia, and next to them the followers of Beha, both Jewish and Moslem, the purpose of the sign seemed reasonably clear.

// Five Years After

// I expected to enjoy the abiding presence of the Lord in my heart after the gracious manifestation of himself to me, as described in the preceding pages. In this I was disappointed. But a short time had elapsed before I felt that my spiritual state was one of as great meagerness as of old. As time went on I came to think of the vision not as a promise of a closer communion with Christ, and of

greater spiritual power and fruitfulness in ministry to others, but as a preparation for greater trials and a severer discipline than had been my lot in the past. The key note to the first vision was suffering, but suffering which had brought forth fruit. Fruit which, though poor and mean enough to the eye of man, and so disappointing to myself, was yet acceptable and pleasing to God. The vision ended with a promise that the Lord would come again and walk with me in other gardens, where, I hoped, more and better fruit, as my offering to him, might be found. The burden of the second vision was, even more insistently, suffering. The wrecked and ruined caravansarai clearly came forth out of the vanishing temple, and the temple was my own personality.

Trials came, treading on each others' heels. The work I was doing I had to surrender; the work I had hoped to do proved illusive; all that I had wrought in a long life of activity, whether for Christ or for self, was worse than if it had never been. It was like the wreck of a stately ship, whose sails were torn to ribbons, with her company swept away, her masts gone overboard, her decks stove in, and her hull become a dangerous derelict, threatening destruction to other craft. The peace, and the joy, and the spiritual power I had sought so hopefully, were farther away than at the beginning of my course. A horror of great darkness settled down upon me; I felt myself shut out from the fellowship of Christ; my prayers brought no strength or comfort through months and years. At length doubts assailed me as I questioned the validity of the vision I had witnessed, finding a fancied explanation of most of its phenomena in the functions of the subconsciousness, and from that I was tempted to question whether, the peace and joy of the Christian having been so continuously denied me, it might not, after all, be a delusion; whether, indeed, Christ had power to bestow it. Then came the questionings whether the Father Himself were more than an impersonal essence, whether there were any

guide for lost humanity, any deliverer from the curse of sin, other than the abstract spirit of goodness, bereft of love and of sympathy for the weakling who was unable to maintain the pace it set. How, at length, I was drawn back into my orbit, and into full allegiance again to the Sum of righteousness, is not relevant to the present narrative, wonderful to my mind as has been the divine interpositions which brought it about.

~~The~~ The special work, concerning which the sign was asked, has not been accomplished. It may never be done by me. Yet I do not doubt the reality of the vision as from God, nor the validity of the sign. I know of some reasons why the work could not have been done efficiently at an earlier date than the present. Should I die, leaving it undone, I should still, with my present light, believe that I had been commissioned to initiate the undertaking.

~~Ten~~ Ten Years After.

~~Succeeding~~ Succeeding years brought continued relief from doubt, but not relief from pain. That became intensified with the lapse of time, as the sense of fellowship with Christ was less and less inspired by the hope of its becoming an abiding living experience. In time doubt threatened again to find a weak point in my armor. But this time I fell back on my own personal experience, and I said, "Though all that is written, of promise and assurance, prove inapplicable to my case, still I dare not deny that God has borne witness to Himself in my own consciousness. On that testimony I will stand whatever results, and I will wait for Christ's salvation till He come." This confession brought peace where had been great unrest. It brought with it new conceptions of spiritual truth, and I saw that the highest spiritual life might exist without any medium whatever of expression in the flesh. Also that much of real Christian experience was masked to a great extent, by the physical activities through which it found expression, so that the believer was constantly tempted to seek for the physical sign rather than for the spiritual grace, and prone to confound the one with the other. I was

V.

given to understand that I must seek no longer for physical expression in any form, being content to possess the spiritual gift under whatever conditions the Spirit Himself imposed. The law of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus should make me free from the law of sin and death, the law of the flesh and of ceremonial forms. It was the will of the Spirit that my lamp, newly relighted of Him, should be concealed in an opaque earthen pitcher till his signal should come, if ever, for its light to shine unto others. Henceforth I was to make it my endeavor to live on the plane of the spirit, not on that of the flesh. It was possible that spiritual exaltation might result without being attended with a physical consciousness of joy, at least in the transition period, and until I had gained the power of distinguishing spiritual joy from that associated with certain mental states, induced often by intense absorption in religious exercises, but frequently arising from wholly different conditions. The thrill of the emotions which we call joy is in itself an expression of the spiritual consciousness. It has a certain relation to changes in tension of the abdominal vessels. It may be associated with either mental or spiritual exaltation good or bad in its genesis. But, however induced, its mechanism is physical. Its presence may interrupt, may possibly at times suppress the first faint forth-puttings of higher and more spiritual states, which sometimes require freedom from the distractions even of joy, for their true development.

Reflections such as these reconciled me to the fact of pain,- they hardly served to temper its acuteness. The promise of Christ to again reveal Himself to me, I believed would be fulfilled, and that then the wreck of my life work and of all my highest aspirations would be made new and perfect, as symbolized in the renovation of the caravan-sarai. That symbolic renovation plainly pointed to a future time and another sphere, but the coming of the Lord to my consciousness I hoped would find me yet in the flesh. But I had much yet to learn in the school of pain. It became my constant companion. It greeted me first in the morning

as I awoke, it was last to bid me farewell at night. As the infirmities of age grew upon me I found myself much less responsive to all other influences, but to pain I was more susceptible than at any period of my life.

One day it occurred to me that this fact might have more significance than I had heretofore attached to it. Why had that note of suffering been so dominant a one in both scenes of the vision? Was it so important that I should know of the suffering that was in store for me, and not that I should know the meaning of the suffering? The physician is not unmindful of the virtues of flagellation in cases of narcotic poisoning to arouse the patient from the lethargy into which he is sinking. Perhaps pain is the only avenue through which Christ can reach and stimulate my spiritual consciousness. What is this hateful presence that I have endured only because I could not shake it off- what if it should turn out to be the herald of His presence, His coming, so long promised, and which I have persistently failed to recognize, and refused to receive? Till quite recently I have supposed the multitudes who came in the retinue of the Lord to be redeemed saints of the earth. All were in human form. I had afterwards thought it strange that I knew none of them. Of late I have been led to look upon them all as impersonations to my mind of the painful experiences it had undergone,- symbols of past mental sufferings, as the fruit tree was the symbol of such suffering in the past, and the caravansarai of suffering yet to come. Whoever, or whatever they were, they served in the vision to contribute to the glory of Him whose train they constituted.

It had long been a subject of speculation to my mind why the two apostles who were with Jesus and me in the garden should have been John and Paul. They were the leading New Testament writers, both had been granted visions of the Lord after His ascension, and John was one of the inner circle of the disciples during Christ's earthly ministry. But these reasons never seemed to me to be quite adequate. Later I recalled that, in answer to Paul's earnest inquiry, "Lord, what

wilt thou have me to do?" the Lord had spoken to Ananias concerning him, "I will show him how great things he must suffer for ~~my~~ name's sake." This corresponded perfectly with my own case. I had asked a sign regarding a work I sought to do for Christ. The sign I received was a symbol of suffering, repeated presently in another symbol of like signification. But I was yet in doubt as to the true meaning of John's presence. On this occasion the words spoken by Jesus concerning John came to mind again and again. "If I will that he tarry till I come?" I had often questioned as to why it had been appointed for me to live so long, when to live was only to suffer, and when all my father's house had died so much younger. Now, as the same words again recurred to me they arrested my attention. In all the details of the vision, suffering had been the dominant note, but the symbols of suffering had been, in every instance, transformed into blessing. The squalid hovel into a stately temple of God: the impersonated multitude of sorrows into the glorious retinue of the Lord of Host (if in this I have interpreted aright); the tree of affliction into fruitage pleasing to His taste; the ruined caravansarai into a building of God, worthy of his majesty and glory. Then I saw why John had come with Paul, for if Paul symbolized suffering, John equally symbolized blessing. "If I will that he tarry till I come?"—yes, I knew then why I had tarried so long.

It is not for us to know the times and the seasons. I had asked that, if a sign were given me, it might be in such form that I might readily understand its meaning. God understood better than I the shallowness of my spiritual apprehension.. It required ten years of painful schooling to make me capable of understanding it. Much yet remains to be interpreted, but now I see that, in answer to His promise to me at Varseh, Christ has been coming to me all the time through the years that have passed since then, and that He has been seeking to arouse my consciousness to the fact of His presence. Now

I no more to shut out painful memories when they come, nor merely to endure with fortitude what I cannot cure. Rather do the old forms of pain, which in the past have so distressed my mind, meet now a sincere welcome at my hands. It has been given me to lift but a little corner of the veil, to look into the face of the deep, dark mystery of pain with but a passing glance. I know not what shapes of terror it may hold yet in reserve for me in the future. But now, whenever in the morning I awake to find the old pain waiting at my bedside, I am glad. For I know that the Lord waits just without the door, and that he has come to abide with me all the day.

^{There} There remains one feature of the vision about which more should be said. I refer to the beam of wood that burned without fire, and was consumed. The position of this timber, alone of all the things I saw, aroused my curiosity, as its destruction where everything else was transformed, surprised me. I believed that it symbolized something which it was intended I should understand, but, through all these years it has remained to me a perplexing mystery. In the first place I was at a loss to know how it came to be where it was, and how it was held in place. It seemed to jut out from an interior angle of the wall, downward and forward into the gateway. But that it had been one of the projecting beams of a former penthouse, or porch, belonging perhaps over the entrance to the building, was an idea that took very strong hold of me from the first, and one that is intimately associated with all my later recollections of the event. Its total disappearance also, through its contact with the golden shower, was likewise a matter of great surprise to me. At the time it seemed to have some special meaning, apart from that of the rest of the spectacle. I have thought much about it since that day, but it is only recently that I have been able to form any opinion on the questions on the questions raised by the presence and behaviour of this timber, in the building. This is the conclusion to which I have at length arrived:

^{The} The timber was one of several that were set in the thick wall, over the front

entrance, and which projected far forward to support a penthouse, or porch over the door. Within the entrance was an arched vestibule, the arches resting on brick pillars, joined to the side walls of the vestibule. An earthquake had cracked the wall where the timbers passed through, and made possible the removal of the other timbers. An attempt had been made to take this one away also, but the wreckers, finding they could not draw it through the wall in front, had pushed it backward into the building. In doing this the end of the timber was thrust back through the broken arch of the vestibule, at its base on the wall, where it rested, the other end being drawn back quite through the crevice in the wall, and resting on its inner face. At this point another shake occurred, which piled the bricks of the vestibule arch on that end of the timber, holding it in place, and depressed the free end until it projected into the middle of the entrance. The wreckers were killed or frightened away, and no further effort was made to remove it. The smoke from the fires of innumerable pilgrims, stopping for a night in the ruined caravansarai, would account in part for its grimy appearance. Now for its symbolism:

//The current of love flows always forward and outward, - never backward into itself. It puts itself to the front in helpfulness and protection to the objects of its love. The porch projects forward from the gate, and protects all who cross its threshold. It invites the stranger and the homeless to come under its sheltering roof. But with love perverted its current is reversed. It flows no longer outward, but inward; it becomes self-love. Self-love has no proper place in humanity's endowments; it can only find room for itself by dislocating something else from its place. Self-love helps no one, protects no one, adorns nothing; it is ugly and despicable in the eyes of God and man. The timber which should stand out over the gate to protect the coming and the parting guest but which draws itself back clean within the building it had been appointed to guard and to beautify, which finds a place for itself there only by helping to wreck the arch on whose base it rests, and which there becomes a menace and an eyesore to those who seek to enter,-

V.

such a thing fitly symbolizes self-love. Everything else in the building was a product of decay, and could be renewed and glorified. Self-love is a pervert; it is incapable of reformation; it has no function but to be destroyed, root and branch. It is a great surprise and grief to me to discover that this hateful thing has, unconsciously to myself, found a harbor for itself in my heart. But here also, as in all the other instances above mentioned, the curse is transformed into blessing. For to have all my self-love one day eradicated, leaving no vestige of its presence in my character as one of the redeemed, is the gracious, divine promise that I see symbolized in the penthouse timber that burned and was consumed by the golden rain from heaven, that day in the caravan-sarai at Varseh.

To exhaust a river whose source is in the sea is not an easy task, and I do not expect to discover all the significance of a divine event such as the vision I beheld at Varseh. But I cannot bring these comments to an end without reference to the symbolism of the 'other gardens', spoken of by the Lord. There have been times since then, when, but for the strength given by this vision of God, I must have been crushed under the burdens laid upon me, - times when my sense of responsibility for mistakes in the past, and of inadequacy for the responsibilities of the future assumed proportions that must have proved absolutely overwhelming, but for some such special intervention to prepare me for the trial. The assurance that God had so signally intervened in my behalf stayed my soul at the last, when every other resource had failed. From the first it had been difficult to describe this feature of the vision. The promise was spoken by the Lord rather to my heart than to my ear, and I could never satisfactorily recall the exact words he used, I could only give their sense, with certainty, in this instance. Neither could I describe his manner at that critical moment. In my first draft of the narrative I mentioned that, as the Lord was speaking, he reminded me strongly of a beloved missionary friend, (since then called to be with Jesus), as, with a humorous twinkle of the eye, he at times communicated to me

V.

a bit of good news,- partly disclosing, and partly withholding intelligence of great personal significance to myself. In the revised narrative given above I eliminated this, as being too crude and inadequate an attempt to translate into the forms of human speech the language of the heart,- the language of Spirit to spirit. Yet after all this interval I can think of nothing more suggestive of the Lord's expression as he spoke those words to me, than the well remembered smile, and the kindling glance of the eye of my friend who in his own character reproduced the spirit of his Master with so rare fidelity. I was impressed with the feeling that the invitation had a deeper meaning than the words themselves conveyed, but that it meant blessing I felt assured. Now I know the meaning of that smile, and that glance of the eye, know that as the fruit tree in the garden symbolized suffering, so here the "other gardens" also symbolized suffering, but suffering to be transmuted into joy. For as in all the previous instances suffering was transformed into blessing, so here the garden wherein was a tomb is found to be the garden of the resurrection morning- a garden wherein the Lord has risen in his own personality to my consciousness, to abide in me, I trust, with increasing fullness of light and life, forever.

Postscript.

I have asked myself many questions during the years that have passed, concerning the events narrated in the foregoing pages. Was the vision anything more than a subjective experience? I do not suppose so. If it was purely spiritual, it must have been subjective. Could it have been otherwise? Was it spiritual, or was it merely an exaltation of the subconsciousness, to be explained in terms of psychology? I agree with Professor James that the only criterion in such cases is the character of the results. The difficulty with this standard is in determining when the results are due. What appears good or bad at first, may appear quite the opposite further on. But in looking back, after an interval of ten years, I cannot doubt that this experience, so profounding affecting my life for good, was spiritual.

As to the other states of consciousness, I have tried to reproduce my own

V.

impressions, but as I read them over I do not think I have succeeded. Whether all I saw was a visualization of the one consciousness, or whether there were two states of consciousness actively in exercise at the same moment I do not know. "Whether in the body I cannot tell; or whether out of the body I cannot tell; God knoweth." It is better to leave the question where Paul did, with God.

I have questioned with myself whether, had the vision been of God, I would not have been impressed with a deeper sense of sin, as in the case of Peter, on witnessing the miraculous draft of fishes, that of Isaiah in the temple, etc. Would not sin, rather than suffering, have been the theme? But in my case a profound consciousness of sinfulness of heart had oppressed me for many years. I interpreted the vision of the Lord's coming as a token of forgiveness, of restoration to his favor. Therefore I was glad where before I had been sorrowful. The Spirit works according to the counsel of his own will. That is often very different from our anticipations.

Self-love may, I think, be fostered in the seeking even of the highest spiritual blessings. We are to seek that Christ abide in us, and we are also to abide in him. To do the one only is to look at all things from the point of view of self; to do the other is to look at all things from the point of view of Christ. Both are necessary, and both are commanded. To obey the one command and neglect the other is to become self-centred; to obey them both is to be Christ centred.

VI

The Practical Missionary

Dr. Holmes had his visions but he was no visionary. There was no missionary in the country who thought more persistently and philosophically about the problems of the work in Persia. His mind, as we shall see, was constantly at work on the apologetic problems involved in the effective presentation of Christ to Moslems, Bahais and Jews, and he was unceasingly reviewing and constructively criticizing his own methods and those of the mission. He was greatly concerned that the Conference of the ^{Iranian} missionaries ^{held in 1894} should be a true success and should resolutely grapple with the real issues of missionary work in the country. One of the ablest papers presented to the Conference was his on the question "What are the Respective Claims of the Central Station and the Outlying Districts upon the time and energies of the Missionary Forces?" In this paper he made a plea "for the reorganization of the itinerary;" the continuous, tenacious, comprehensive evangelization of the entire field and the right relation to this task of church and mission, and the bold and resultful use of the most direct means of evangelization. (Appendix A)

He advocated the full evangelistic use of medical work in the station and in itineration, the preparation of competent native doctors who would be self-sustaining, the maintenance of the highest standards of teaching, of character building and of evangelistic influences in schools; persistence and continuity in itineration, the unfailing use of personal contacts; interest in community welfare and the promotion of sanitation and hygiene, personal piety and love and goodwill in all human relationships.

It will be best to let him speak for himself in letters from Persia and after his return to America:

Hamadan, Persia, December 29, 1898

How dark the outlook for the Board again this year. I know you are all praying for light and for help from above, and so are we praying. Does God intend that the Church and the Boards shall make this more a work of faith with less of machinery and more of prayer and trust in Him? I am sure you are thinking and praying over this subject earnestly."

Wellesley, Mass., December 19, 1901.

There is doubtless need of tact and judgment in preaching the word, and not every missionary, otherwise well qualified, is adapted to the work of the itineracy. The methods of our Tabriz brethren (and sisters) in preaching positive truths and avoiding controversy save when forced upon them, I believe to be by far the wisest, at the present stage of the work at any rate. I am glad to believe that Hamadan will soon have a force sufficiently effective in number and in enthusiasm to carry out the plans we have had in view for many years, but which the smallness of our force and other causes have so far largely hindered.

How so many Christian physicians can go out from our colleges, and be content to struggle for years for recognition amidst the crowd of self seekers, while God has such prizes reserved for those who have eyes to see them and ears to hear His call, is a mystery I cannot fathom. If I did not know that the Lord had retired me from active service in the field, I don't think I could be content to stay at home even as I am. Had I youth and health and such an equipment as the medical missionary of today must have, of acquirement and training, the call would not need to be repeated or urged upon me. It seems to me that the rewards for this

present life are far greater in the medical missionary service than any that are of possible attainment at home. Yet if one went for the sake of the reward he would doubtless meet with disappointment.✍

Wellesley, Mass. , December 31, 1901.

✍I wish the evangelistic methods employed by Miss Halliday and Dr. Wright might be more fully carried out in Hamadan as they will be, I feel sure, when they have a larger force of workers. I like the simplicity of their methods, - their having nothing to draw the people but the gospel. Here is a drawback in medical missionary work which I have often deplored. There is usually so much anxiety about gaining the ear of the physician for the story of the bodily ailments, that spiritual themes are put in the background or introduced with ulterior ends in view. The medical work has its place, and a very important place, but it cannot take the place of the kind of quiet personal work such as they are doing so successfully at Ooske and Milan.✍

Wellesley, Mass. July 14, 1902

✍In regard to the general question of physicians subordinating their professional equipment to the demands of evangelistic work. I think I may have given you an impression foreign to my own thought. A missionary who is thoroughly grounded in medical science may and should follow every providential leading in the line of evangelistic work. If he proves to be a successful evangelist he becomes a man of great power. If he is found to be lacking or indifferent as to his medical qualifications, it is not unlikely that he has mistaken his calling, and in such case the mistake is very likely to involve also his calling as an evangelist, however well he may begin. The fact is

there is too much drudgery and at the same time too much responsibility about the practice of medicine to allow of its being very largely subordinate to any other calling. Christ did not do this, but made the healing of the sick almost as prominent in his ministry as the preaching of the Kingdom. The man who feels himself unequal to its demands in point of education, will more and more come to feel the sense of its drudgery and to work to escape it., and while the science is rapidly progressing he will retrograde. His failure in turn impairs to an appreciable extent the prestige of his colleagues throughout the entire field.

Another feature is the injustice to the missionaries who may have to submit to the treatment of a physician whom they consider incompetent."

I have myself felt so strongly the claims of the evangelistic work that I deliberately sacrificed my professional standing and for thirty years directed all my thoughts and operations into that channel, understanding perfectly that while I might not find success as an evangelist, I was certain to unfit myself for true scientific work as a physician. That the sacrifice failed of its purpose has nothing to do with the merits of the case, but that I made it shows that I have no invincible prejudice against the combination of physician and evangelist.

In looking over one of your old letters, January 15, 1901, I am reminded that at that time I was rejoicing in a new-born hope. Your prayer that man or devil might not take away my joy, and my prayer to that effect have not been answered. I have gained much, that must not be denied, but the advancing tide of hope broke and receded as has always been the case before, and my strength whatever it may be, is not in the joy of the Lord. At the beginning of this present year I felt that the time had come when I must vindicate God's word in my own ex-

perience, and for six months I have exerted the utmost power of my will to realize what I believed God was waiting to give me, but the tide has receded, and the dammed up waters have found their true level - a little higher it is true than before - O, much higher I hope, but when I look into my heart I know that I have no joy in the Lord, and I wonder if I am as honest as the old Tent-maker in his petition:

~~Let~~ this one thing for my atonement plead
That one for two I never did misread.

~~So~~ I have concluded that in all that Jesus says about His joy being with us he does not mean that all shall partake of His joy here on earth, and I find refuge for myself in the vision, and the assurance that out of sorrow has come fruitfulness, that in the 'other gardens' which He is yet to show me, fruitful trees are maturing which shall perfect their roots in my present sorrows, so that the fellowship denied to the senses may yet prove to have been fulfilled to the spirit.

Wellesley Mass , November 19, 1902.

It is certainly gratifying that the missionaries in Persia feel the need of more men so strongly, even if you are unable to supply all that they ask for. But I often wonder how you can give them as many as you do, when there are such pressing demands from China and Korea to be supplied, and where the converts are so much more ready to take on themselves the responsibilities of disseminating the truth among their own people, than are the Persians of all races. The trouble in Persia is that the native agency has no initiative. To sit down in a village, and preach a little, or teach a little, to make and receive a good many social calls, and to have salary enough to enable them to sustain a proper dignity, is about as far as one in ten or twenty of the native helpers can be induced to go, or to think about going. I wrote a long letter to Dr. Labaree, last summer, suggesting the effort to train the

young men in the colleges into the idea of going out into the country in the capacity of private tutors, in the houses of wealthy Moslems, who would be able, in addition to the mullah who would teach religion and something of the Persian literature, to employ a teacher versed in the learning of the west. If they were prepared to teach French as well as English, there is no doubt in my mind that a great many teachers would find employment in the houses of the village khans, but even without this accomplishment I believe it to be perfectly practicable for a very considerable number of the college graduates to find employment at remunerative salaries in this capacity. If they are true Christians they could, without giving offence, and if in no other way, by the mere force of their consistent Christian life and example, become effective missionaries of the Cross, being living epistles to be known and read of all men. I do not think it is a violent supposition that in such capacity a worthy and able and tactful man might exert a much more profound influence on the community than he could as a salaried preacher or teacher in the same village.

The salary received by our helpers is indeed a tremendous handicap, in more ways than one. In the first place, it attracts unworthy and mercenary men. 2nd, It provides a comfortable income, with no necessarily exacting duties, and removes the stimulus of the feeling that the retention of the place depends upon the energy and fidelity with which the duty is discharged. Its tendency is therefore toward sloth and a progressive weakening of moral fibre, particularly where the post is isolated, and the incumbent is not often brought into contact with outside spiritual influences. 3rd. The knowledge on the part of the people to whom he ministers that he receives a salary which to them appears very large for the work done, is very apt to give them the impression that he is in it

for pay, and that his spiritual duties are perfunctory, and this feeling necessarily weakens the force of the message he has for them. These reasons are, however, commonplaces, and I need not have repeated them. They do not, however, exhaust the list.

It has always been my desire, from the beginning of my missionary life to counteract these untoward influences to some extent, by sending trained and consecrated physicians, who would be able to support themselves, while carrying on both the ministry of healing and of the word. Dr. Cochran has, from the beginning of his service, been engaged in a great work of this character, with, in some instances at least, the most happy results. Till I went to Hamadan, mine were unsuccessful. A beginning has, however, been made there, which promises in other hands to accomplish much.

But why should the medical be the only profession capable of holding up its head and taking care of itself? I believe it is perfectly practicable for our schools to turn out teachers who can do the same thing. Mirza Mooshe, at Kermanshah, could, I have no doubt, easily support himself there as a teacher, if his salary were entirely withdrawn, but he is the kind of a man who can safely be entrusted also, with a salary. One or two of our Hamadan schoolboys have obtained employment in this way as teachers, and if they have not held the appointments long, the reason is more likely to be their own lack of adaptability than anything else. The fact that they secured appointments at all, sustains my contention, and for ought I know, they have kept them. The better class of Persians deplore the intellectual stagnation of their land, and under favoring conditions, in course of time, it might easily become the fad to employ as a private tutor one of the graduates of our schools.

Clifton Springs, New York
April 9, 1903.

8
4-
The more I have thought over this matter since Dr. Stead's letter came, the more have I felt that there is an opportunity offered here for a unique kind of missionary work, needing only the unique person found, to make it an extremely valuable new departure in missionary enterprise. In attempting to walk in the footsteps of our Lord as He carried on His earthly ministry the clerical missionary necessarily carries with him, in spite of all efforts to avoid it, largely a foreign atmosphere, and his preaching must be almost entirely to men; the missionary physician must depend largely for success on material instrumentalities, and fails in a large proportion of his efforts to heal the sick; the teacher in the schools has plastic material on which to work, but much of what he accomplishes in the school room is counteracted in the home.

To go into the home, to meet the problem at first hand, to identify oneself with it, as Christ identified Himself with His people whom He came to save, to bring His spirit, His love, His patience, and gentleness and charitableness and purity of life into daily and hourly contact with the polluted atmosphere of the home - the unit of measurement of a people's civilization, this most of all imitates the Christ who emptied Himself, this lays the axe at the knot of the tree, cleanses the polluted stream at its fountain head. Given a well trained woman of mature years and with adequate culture and refinement, imbued with the spirit of Christ, and endowed with tact and judgment, she ought in time to exert an influence which would make itself felt far beyond the boundaries of the household in which she makes her home.

It is difficult to learn a new language after forty, but not impossible, as Miss Halliday's experience shows. To make such a vocation

a true success this difficulty would have to be surmounted, and both the polite and colloquial forms of speech would have to be learned, the better these are acquired the more successful would be the result.

There would be many trials connected with such a work, and I would advise none to undertake it who is unable to look at the matter as a plain proposition divested entirely of the glamour which would naturally enough gather about it. This is better parted with at the outset than after her arrival on the scene. It will demand of her who undertakes it all her courage and fortitude and powers of will, and faith, and if she is devoid of a fair stock of these qualities she should not make the venture.

Should the family of the Prince remain in Teheran, she would find sympathy and strength in the society of the ladies of our Mission. But the present Prime Minister, who is all powerful, is jealous of this powerful and wealthy prince and would prefer to keep him away from the capital on official duty, as far as possible.

Mrs. Wilson of Tabriz, knows much more about the personal character of the Princess and about her children and those of the concubines, (The Princess is the only wife this being the prerogative of the daughter of the Shah), and the appointments of her household than I do, my acquaintance being principally with the Prince himself. Very likely Mrs. Rhea could tell you how Mrs. Wilson was received there. I have no doubt she was always treated with great respect by them all.

Boonton, New Jersey, August 1, 1907

These things will not be accomplished without persecution, and persecution, if too severe, might temporarily arrest the work or even root it up while it is still in its initial stage. But there is more

danger from undue conservatism than from excess of zeal, and persecution may prove the stimulus that is needed to arouse the faith of many who have not been ready to avow the hope which they have held in secret."

Boonton, New Jersey, January 27, 1910.

I have been reading Dr. Will Shedd's replies to the questions of ^{Edinburgh} the World's ^{Missionary} Conference Committee, which Mrs. Shedd has kindly sent me from Rye, and as you will, I presume, be engaged, part of your time while abroad in Committee work, I am asking Dr. Fulton to send on to you, what I feel constrained to say on a point raised by Dr. Shedd as I have thought that if you were prepared to consider the questions raised at all, you would perhaps like to talk it over with others there. When Dr. Shedd first went to Princeton he wrote me asking what I thought of his giving special attention to the subject of Islam. I did not think there was any one at the time, in either mission, who could be said to be in any sense an authority on that subject, and I was of course enthusiastic in favor of the plan. But for many years it looked as if he was going to be swamped by the pressure of the local work for the Nestorians. Dr. Cochran's death found him, however, prepared to take up the political end of the work effectively, and the papers he has prepared for the Conference Committee, together with the lectures he delivered on the Oriental Churches and Islam, show that he has a good grasp of the subject..

Now I have long believed that we ought to have in our Persian work a Missionary at Large, a missionary whose duties were somewhat analogous to those of a bishop in some of the other churches, though with advisory rather than judicial authority. Dr. Shedd points out the need, in these papers, of more unity of effort, and recommends united action through more frequent conferences. That is desirable, but that is not

sufficient. There is too little sense of team work in the two missions, or in the stations of each mission, to make the conferences, if held, productive of much in the way of directing the general forces toward definite ends. I believe in following the lines of least resistance, as I recommended at the Hamadan Conference, but I don't believe in each missionary determining for himself where those lines run, nor that he should let them harmonize with the lines of least resistance in his personal inclinations. There is a vast amount of wasted energy on missionary fields, due to lack of cooperation. There are plenty of reasons for this, which are apparent on the surface. There is so much work to be done, and so few to do it, and for them the work must be apportioned, as far as possible, according to personal aptitudes. Then, with the pressure of the work there is a constant temptation on the part of each worker to undertake more than he can care for, and as a result, he becomes so tied down to his special work, so occupied with detail, that he has neither time nor energy left with which to attempt any study of the work as a whole, and he is satisfied if his brother will keep up his own line of work as best he may, and not bother him too much with its details.

As a member of the Committee ad Interim, at Tabriz, I found it often very difficult to arrange for an ordinary annual meeting between two stations. Once, I remember, it was on the point of falling through, and a proposition to adopt the previous year's estimates was about to be adopted, when Dr. Cochran and I took off our coats and undertook to convince the two stations that annual meeting had other questions to consider in addition to those of estimates. And I remember, also, that it was with the greatest difficulty that Tabriz Station was finally prevailed on to send delegates to the Hamadan Conference.

"So that, unless conditions have greatly changed, Dr. Shedd's proposal of frequent conferences, though this should be adopted, also, is not sufficient to meet the need. Besides the conferences have no permanent executive officer charged with the duty of seeing that its recommendations are really effective.

Many years ago I had a long talk with Dr. J. H. Shedd on this subject, and we were both agreed that there ought to be enough elasticity in our Presbyterian missionary organization to permit of the appointment of missionary overseers, whose duty should be to visit the different stations and out-stations frequently, to make a careful study of their conditions, their special opportunities, their special difficulties, the special fitness of the helpers, the adaptability of the methods employed to the special needs of the field, etc.etc.

It might be made the duty of such a "Missionary at Large" to take up the question of overlapping, as it exists in the Urumia field, to make a thorough study of its genesis and its results. Dr. Shedd had done this very admirably in this paper, but it is only an incidental reference here, to one of many other hindrances. It ought to be worked up in so thorough a way as to shame those home churches out of such unworthy competitions.

Another very important duty of the Missionary at Large would be to give courses of lectures on the religions of the mission field, and the best methods of meeting them with the gospel message, and of holding conferences at the different stations with the missionaries and helpers, on these subjects, and on mission methods.

I hope some such plan may approve itself to you, to the Board, and to our missions. It is in line with the economic improvements that are revolutionizing our industrial system; and would, I feel sure, if the right men are found, greatly improve the efficiency of our existing

agencies. I have brought it up with special reference to the needs of our Persian missions, but I do not see why it should be useful in all the other fields of our Board.

Dr. Shedd would seem to be the man for such a post in Persia, and even if the Board is not prepared for so radical a step as I have outlined, I wish it might be brought about that he could be sent on a tour of visitation of the entire field, to report fully to the Board and the Missions. His long service, his acquaintance with the people from his earliest years, and his qualities of missionary statesmanship, added to his scholarly attainments, would give to his recommendations a weight in the minds of his associates in the work which they would not be likely to accord to any one else.

VII.

As Theologian and Philosopher

Dr. Holmes lamented all his days his lack of the background in reading and study of which his conferences with Moslems and Bahais made him aware, but with the ^{possible} exception of only two or three other missionaries in Persia he was the best equipped and most efficient controversialist in ^{the land} Persia. Controversy with him, however, was not polemic. It was companionable and affectionate. He met men on their own ground and entered fully into their fashion of thought, using the arguments which were ^{at the same time} legitimate in his own view and persuasive to them. He read all that he could find on the issues of religion and ethics and philosophy with which he had to deal, criticised it with a free mind and drew from it whatever was serviceable for his work.

One of the questions of greatest interest to him was the Trinity ~~and~~ ^{as} one of the chief stumbling blocks in the way of Mohammedan acceptance of Christianity. He felt sure that there were ways of stating the truth which would conserve the full Christian view and at the same time be less repellent to the Moslem mind than some of the traditional statements. ^{Potter} Dr. ~~Potter~~ of Teheran had written a very useful tract for Moslems entitled, "^{Roots and Branches}" and Dr. Holmes was inquiring as to some way of making it yet more effective in its presentation of the doctrine of the Trinity. In his study of the matter he came on Clarke's "Outline of Christian Theology" and writes:

I have been reading with great delight Clarke's Theology, which you recommended to me some time ago. His statement of the Trinity as three mutually related and dependent modes of being of the one Person of the Godhead, puts into clear definition a thought I have often attempted to give expression to in talking to Mohammedans on the subject.

But I was always hampered by the supposed necessity of preserving the conception of three distinct persons in one essence, a conception that I have never been able to make real to my own mind, and which Clarke says was not included in the original significance of the phrase. I have always found Mohammedans quite ready to accept either a model Trinity, or a Trinity of manifestation, and if our missionaries felt at liberty, with Clarke, to dispense with the idea of three persons in the Godhead, I am sure they would find a great chasm bridged in their presentation of the gospel to Mohammedans. Is Clarke an accepted interpreter of the present faith of the Church?

Wellesley, Mass., March 12, 1902

I wish it were possible in an authoritative statement of our faith, such as this when published will be, to admit along with the older formulas, one or other of the later conceptions of the doctrine of the Trinity. No human statement of this doctrine yet made or to be made can be thought of as more than approximate. Philosophic conceptions of truth vary in different periods of time, and, even when themselves unchanged, the forms of statement in which they are clothed become subjected to the influence of change, as in the meanings of words, etc. There is good reason for thinking that the word "person" conveyed a different idea to Athanasius, from that which it signifies at the present day. Sanday, in Hastings Dictionary, says, "At the period covered by the New Testament there was no such conception in the general mind as 'personality.' The term 'person' was just coming into use through the defining influence of Roman law acting upon popular language..... But a long process

had to be gone through before the idea of personality acquired an exact connotation," and that process was to a large extent involved in the theological controversies on the subject of the Trinity, the result of which was the formulated doctrine of three Persons in One God, as we have it in what is commonly known as the Athanasian Creed.✍

✍W. N. Clarke in his "Outline of Christian Theology" says

"It is somewhat misleading to speak of 'three persons' in one God. The word 'person,' in its modern sense, differs widely from the Latin word persona, as it was when it was first used in this discussion. Modern thought insists upon the separateness and self-included nature of personality, a conception unknown to antiquity, and if we claim that there are three persons in one God, we cannot wonder if we are understood to mean that there are three full personalities, like three men, - an idea scarcely distinguishable from that of three Gods.

The word persona indicated, and should still be understood to indicate, much vaguer distinctions. It corresponds more nearly to the word 'character' as it is used in the drama. In early Christian discussions it was never meant that there were three modernly conceived persons in God, nor can it now be maintained. God, of whom we have spoken as a personal Spirit, has but one personality, in the sense which that word now bears. God is one Person. We maintain this in our argument for theism, and must not deny it in our theology.✍

✍This seems a point too clear and too important to be overlooked, and yet, in the constant use of the phrase "three persons," it is indispensable that we make some effort to keep it steadily in mind. It is largely because we are under the spell of a word, and unconsciously

labor to find three modernly conceived persons in the Godhead, that we find the doctrine of Trinity so difficult.↗

"Something like this then, we mean by Trinity in God: God is a Person in whose nature there is a threeness that has been expressed in his threefold manifestation." (The italics are mine.)

↗ It seems to me that thus far we can all agree with Clarke in his definition. It does not deny Personality to each 'Person' of the Godhead, nor does it limit threeness to manifestation. Personally I can go a long way with the Hamilton theologian also in his answer to the question "What threeness can there be in the nature of a uni-personal God?" It is certainly easier to call it a mystery, and let it rest there. But the conditions requiring the summoning of the Council of Nicaea shows that these things will not rest. It was because men insisted on thinking on this subject and to guide their thinking into safe channels rather than from their own wish to make definitions that led the Fathers to formulate the doctrine of the Trinity. It was then a doctrine which was yet in process of development and so a scientific statement of it could not be made. That process is still in operation. "The Spirit of truth is still guiding the Church into the truth, and genuine progress in apprehension of truth respecting Father, Son and Holy Spirit is to be expected yet."

↗ The answer which Dr. Clarke gives to this question is one which I believe would be acceptable to the candid Mohammedan, and one which we could employ with much less risk of giving rise to misapprehension than in the use of the old formula. That, besides being to most men incomprehensible, and therefore, if accepted, being merely a formula, has been prescribed by their highest religious authority, and has then become impossible of acceptance, so long as that authority is recognized. The statement of Dr. Clarke gives clearly and definitely, though in the simple language of everyday speech, a conception

of the Trinity which most of us have entertained in some shape in our minds, whether or not we have been able to formulate it to our own satisfaction. It is a conception to which I have attempted, vaguely and crudely enough, to give shape in my own mind, and one to which I have often tried to give expression in meeting the objections of Mohammedans to the doctrine of the Trinity. Had I then been familiar with Clarke's exposition of it, I am sure I could have removed difficulties in the minds of some, for the Persians, at least, revolt from the idea of God as "an abstract self-identity, a sterile monotonous simplicity," and are predisposed to conceive of him as "a unity rich in distinctions and perfections, the unity of an infinite fulness of life and love." Is it not possible to draw them out from the sphere of dogmatic or metaphysical discussion of this doctrine, to a ground where we can meet on a common basis and discover a common point of view? If we can find this common ground in Dr. Clarke's theory of the Trinity, I believe we shall find a great chasm bridged, which has heretofore prevented multitudes of sincere Moslems from gaining that nearness of approach to Christ which is necessary, if they are to behold Him from one point of vantage. The difficulty lies in trying to condense into a few sentences suitable for a conversational statement, which to be effective should be brief and concise in form, the argument of Dr. Clarke, which occupies nearly twenty pages of his book. It is in substance as follows:

* If such names as Father and Son rest upon any reality, the reality must be this, that God is in some manner forever reproducing Himself within Himself, that he utters Himself into reality by action that is eternal, and necessary to his nature. We find hints of this in the mind of man. This is made in the likeness of God and nothing that is totally foreign to the action of mind as we know it in ourselves, can be permanently recognized as natural to the perfect mind. Does man then, in his mental action, in any manner reproduce himself?

The fundamental state of a personal spirit is self consciousness, - which is the consciousness of a person as himself. Perfect self-consciousness is complete consciousness of all that the self is and contains. The fuller and truer the mental reproduction of the real self, and the more vivid the recognition of it as identical with the self that thinks, the richer and more perfect is the resulting self-consciousness.

This identity is never perfect in man because self-consciousness is never perfect, but in God, who is the perfect Mind, it must exist so perfectly that He will reproduce Himself in thought, and recognize the reproduction as identical with the mind that thought it forth. Personality in God would seem to imply this interior action, a conscious personal God must project himself in thought before himself, and know as himself that which then stands before him.

There is an aspect of his being in which he is simply and purely God, there is an aspect in which he is God, uttered or going forth (^{Bahais} Manifested, as the ~~Behaen~~ would say), and there is an aspect in which he is God recognizing and resting in Himself in the completeness of His being. These three essentials of self-consciousness may well be real to Him, as they are not to men, and when we think of the perfect Being, it does not seem impossible that, to Him each of three should be a center of conscious life and activity, and that He should live in each a life corresponding to its quality. The assertion that He lives such a threefold life, is the assertion of the divine Trinity. First in order of thought, though not of time, is God original and unuttered (unmanifested); then God going forth (manifested); then God returning into Himself in unity. These three modes of being are not shadowy and transient, but real, abiding, and eternal. They are not personalities in the modern sense of the term, but are separate aspects of one personality.

An analogy is hinted at between these three modes of being and the powers of intellect, affection and will, in the constitution of a personal spirit (or of man). The First in God, though including all fullness, is most profoundly affectional, the Second in God, though it reveals the affectional, is most profoundly the rational and wise. The Third in God, corresponds to that executive and effective power which we call the will. God, the eternal heart of love, Christ, the rational expression of the eternal heart, and the Spirit, the accomplisher of the work of both, make up the Godhead.

Such in brief is the conception of the Trinity as presented by the author in his "Outline of Theology," pp. 162-181, mostly in his own words. He goes on to show how this view differs from Tritheism and from a model Trinity of manifestation, which simply sees one God thrice expressed. Dr. Clarke does not give a name to this view of the Trinity. I should call it a Trinity of relation.

I have myself always avoided the discussion of this and kindred questions when possible, preferring to make prominent Christ's office of Saviour of the world, rather than the interior relations of the Godhead. But we ought not to shrink from giving a reason for the faith that is in us when reasons are demanded, and one that will satisfy our own reasoning faculty can alone be expected to satisfy others. And if a Mohammedan tells me that he cannot conceive of three persons existing in a sense different from that pertaining to three individuals, I must confess to having always been troubled by the same difficulty. The faculty of abstract thought implies a definite stage of mental development; and most of us cannot get on without the help of the concrete. This need it seems to me is reasonably

supplied in the view of the Trinity outlined above. As commonly taught the doctrine of the Trinity appears to the Moslem to be dishonoring to God and necessarily false, and so the Koran teaches him. We tell him there is nothing inconsistent in it with his own belief in the unity of God but that he must accept the reconciliation not as a matter of reason but of faith. But foundations for faith is the thing he is seeking. These we should assist him to lay on Christ himself, not on a name which as yet is not the Name to him, and to do this we should seek to remove every hindrance to his coming to Christ and knowing Him as God.

I like the general definition of sin, as the placing of self will or selfishness above the claims of love and duty, to which I would add "as expressed in the character of God," better than that given in the confession of faith. The Bahaa holds it a sin to disobey the will of Beha though it abrogate all moral obligations. We ought to obey God's will, not because He has infinite power to compel obedience, but because His will is the reflection of His holy character. We tell him there is nothing inconsistent in it with his own belief in the unity of God but that he must accept the reconciliation, not as a matter of reason but of faith. But foundations for faith are the things he is seeking. These we should help him to lay on Christ himself. The name by which He is called, which to us signifies so much, which to us is the Name, has to him as yet the character of a polytheistic symbol. While we diminish nothing of our zeal in proclaiming salvation in the name of Christ, let us at the same time do all in our power to divest it of the false conceptions which the old phraseology almost necessarily conveys to the minds of Mohammedans trained as they have been to think of us as claiming for Christ a partnership with another god whom we call the Father.

The general definition of sin as placing self-will or selfishness above

the claims of love and duty, as manifested in the character of God, is, I think, a truer one for the Moslem or Baháeé, than the definition in the catechisms. We ought to obey God, because His will is the expression of His righteous character, not because He has power to compel obedience. To the Baháeé the will of God is arbitrary, not necessarily ethical in character, and it must be obeyed unhesitatingly, even though obedience compel the violation of the plainest and universally accepted dictates of the moral law. We should not make use of a definition which makes room for such a choice between religion and ethics. "Conformity to the will of God," to the Baháeé, is conformity to assassination and falsehood, and readiness to conform, as one of the Baháeé apostles said to me, to *insert* should Baha command it. After all this leaves the Baháeé free to appeal to the character of his master as the standard of obligation. Must we not at last fall back upon the witness to the sanctions of the moral law of the Spirit of Christ whom the Father hath sent into our hearts, and the perfect example which Christ has given in His life and ministry of the fulfillment of that law, and do not these two witnesses together, rather than either of them separately, the Word and the Spirit, constitute our final authority in matters of faith? This does not require us to institute any comparison between the characters of Christ and Baha nor of Christ and Mohammed. I have always avoided such questions, the consequence of which would only be to lead the others to palliate, and eventually to deify the worst deeds of their spiritual fathers.

Not only did he work on the problem of presenting the Trinity to Moslems but he planned and partly completed a manuscript entitled "God Manifest in the Flesh" of which the following was the outline:

GOD MANIFEST IN THE FLESH

INTRODUCTION

Reasons for writing the book
 Currents of Religious Thought in Persia
 The Point of View.

CHAPTER I

REVELATION AND NATURE WORSHIP

The Protevangelium

CHAPTER II

JUDAISM AND POLYTHEISM

The Messianic Hope

CHAPTER III

JUDAISM AND PANTHEISM

Making void the word of God.

CHAPTER IV.

THEISM AND PANTHEISM

"The World by Wisdom Knew not God"

CHAPTER V.

CONFLICT OF CHRISTIANITY AND PANTHEISM

"The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us."

CHAPTER VI.

CONFLICT OF ISLAM WITH PANTHEISM

An equatorial current in the progress of religious thought

CHAPTER VII

SUFISM

An irruption of Hindu mysticism in the fold of Islam

CHAPTER VIII

SHIAHISM

The witness of Islam to man's need of the Incarnation

CHAPTER IX.

ISMAILISM

A recrudescence of Pantheism

CHAPTER X.

BĀHAISM

An apotheosis of man

"Ye shall be as gods."

CHAPTER XL.

CHRISTIANITY

"The law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me
free from the law of sin and death."

APPENDIX

He was greatly interested in William James's "Varieties of Religious
Experience" and "Pragmatism" and wrote of the latter:

Boonton, New Jersey, February 26, 1908

That only is true for us which was already true in itself, as you say,
but is there not also a sense in which that which does not find us, is
not true to us. It may be our own fault that it does not find us,
our own fault that it is untrue to us. I believe that every soul has
an individual relation to Christ, and that there is one string in each
heart that can only be touched by Him. If the individual leaves that
string unstrung or suffers it to get out of tune with the harmonies of

the choir invisible, no touch can evoke heavenly music, though the hand be that of the Divine Harper only. And are we not in danger of putting ourselves out of tune with the Infinite when, in place of seeking the fullest development of our own individuality, we seek to conform it too closely to the life of believers as a whole? Surely the Spirit works in us also through the instrumentality of others, and thus our individuality is harmonized with that of the body of Christ, but should we not seek most to know what it is that he speaks to us as individuals? And thus shall we not be best fitted to do our part in the work of the organism as a whole? In this sense, I think it possible that what is true to one individual may not be true to another, not because it is not true in itself but because the other is unable to appropriate it in that particular form, as different plants select their food from the same elements of the soil, but in different combinations.

A serious objection to pragmatism as a test of truth is that it breaks down when new systems of alleged truth are tested by it. These often work apparently very well at the outset, while the germs of evil inherent in them take long periods of time to develop. So it is only of the older systems that we can say whether or not they really work well. ↗

Among his papers is an undated article on "Prayer" written at a time when faith was clear and strong:

PRAYER

↗ The identification of Christ with our humanity gives to man the unspeakable honor of being associated with the Almighty God in the work

of redemption. Christ calls upon every believer thus to co-operate with Him, first, by witness bearing, and, second, by intercession. The subject of prayer is one of the greatest mysteries of godliness, for prayer in the name of Christ like the mystic ladder of his person - revealed by a vision to one early believer, and long after by faith to another, - prayer becomes a means of communication between earth and heaven, and the most of its phenomena are beyond the range of our finite vision (John 1:51; Gen. 28:12). In its exercise the believer enters into personal communion, by the power of the Holy Spirit, with Christ, and through Him with the Father. The conditions attached to the promises concerning prayer require that it shall be made, and that its answer shall be received, by faith. To demand and answer, therefore, of such a character that the physical senses can test and confirm it, is to violate the fundamental conditions of all true prayer. Prayer being a spiritual process its true answer must necessarily be a spiritual answer, even when we pray for material things. If in addition to the spiritual answer a material answer - one that we can test with our senses, - be granted also, that may confirm our faith, but it is not the highest kind of evidence. The material thing we ask for, when its complex elements are reduced to its lowest terms, is our own or some one else's good, but the means we would have employed to attain that end might work evil and not good. If God, therefore, withholds the instrument we would employ for good but grants the good desired through some other instrument, the prayer is truly answered.

*But neither is the Christian justified in thinking his prayer denied, even though he fail to recognize the purely spiritual blessings

for which he asks. How many a prayer has gone up to God for spiritual consolation, for the joy of the Lord to sweeten the daily drudgery of life's experiences, while the heart has grown faint and faith has been put to the test by hope long deferred? And how often have the friends of the disappointed and discouraged seeker after God discovered that while he was waiting and watching for the answer to his prayers, watching for the presence of the Christ in his consciousness, the Christ had already risen, full orb'd, in his character, - how often has he himself become conscious that in many particulars he had attained to a higher plane of Christian experience, that the very power of faith which had prevented his falling by the way, long before disheartened, was an answer to his prayer, that his very power of faith, when thus recognized, was in itself the truest joy.

Now if Christ has, indeed, in taking upon Himself our humanity, really associated us with Himself in the work of redemption, in fact, and not merely as a figure of speech, then some one or more human beings must have a share either personally or impersonally, in the redemption of every redeemed soul, for the work of redemption is not wrought on mankind in the mass, but in the individual soul. In Christ's last prayer before His crucifixion He declared that He had accomplished the work of redemption which the Father had committed to Him, - His work is a finished work (John 17:4). Once hath He appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself (Heb. 9:26,28; 10:10,12,14; 7:27). No man could share with Him in this divine sacrifice. But unless man was to be deprived of the exalted dignity that had already been conferred upon him by his Maker, when man was created in the image of God and given the power of moral choice, Christ could not take upon Himself the entire work of redeeming sinners. A sinner saved against his own

will is not saved at all. If his will is not brought into harmony with God's will, with the divine order of the universe, he is yet unsaved; if his will is compelled by breaking down his power of choice, he has been deprived of that which makes him most akin to God, and which alone makes him worth saving, - saving through so tremendous a sacrifice as that which the Son of God has freely offered in giving His life a ransom for sinners.

But God has destined man for a higher office than that merely of helping to work out his own salvation. Christ has graciously chosen to associate man with himself in the work of redemption for other men. His disciples, he assured them, should gather fruit in his harvest, unto eternal life; (Jn. 4:36), through their prayers to the Lord of the Harvest other laborers should be sent forth (Matt. 9:38); he had chosen them that they should go and bring forth fruit that should not perish, that in His name they might receive all power from the Father (Jn. 15:16); We are laborers together with God, declares Paul (I Cor. 3:19); by the foolishness of our preaching God will save them that believe (1 Cor. 1:21).

In nothing has Christ made such explicit declarations as in that which relates to the power which He has given to the believer to co-operate with God through prayer. There are conditions. The asking must be in faith, it must be according to the Father's will, it must be in the name of Christ. It must be without vain repetition, i.e., it must be sincere, not mechanical. All four conditions are comprehended in the last one. How may we ask in His name? By appearing before the Father with Christ's authority and truly representing Him in our character, presenting ourselves to the Father in the

same attitude of faith, and love, and truth, and filial obedience and with the same spirit of trustfulness and of fellowship which Christ shows to him, coming to the Father in Christ, through the Spirit. Is it possible for us to do this, is not this in the power of Christ alone? It is possible for us to do this according to our measure, not according to His measure. It is possible for us to do it at all, in any degree, only because it is God which worketh in those who love and obey Him, both to will and to do His good pleasure. (Phil. 2:13). To such Christ makes promises so unqualified as almost to stagger our powers of belief. "Whatsoever ye ask, that will I do," "If ye shall ask anything, I will do it," "I have chosen you ... that whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in My name, He may give it to you." etc. (John 14:13,14; 15:7,16; 16:23,24; Matt. 7:7).

In our asking for ourselves Christ accepts a very weak and trembling faith. Man at his best estate is but

'An infant crying in the night:
An infant crying for the light,
And with no language but a cry.'

But with increasing faith comes increasing power of appropriation, until, to him who has heard the divine call to the ministry of intercession, all things seem possible through Christ their strength. In these higher reaches of experience no wavering is permissible. (Jas. 1:5-8). The faith that removes mountains is a faith that makes no reservations. The thing asked for must be accepted as already accomplished, the confidence we have in our Almighty Friend must not hesitate to receive by faith, considering as already given, the blessing we have sought at His hands. (Mark 11:24 R.V., 1 John 5:14,15). In this Christ Himself is our exemplar, as in all things else, for whatever He taught He practiced. It is related of Him by one who was

with Him that at the grave of Lazarus Jesus stopped before the tomb and, while the body of His friend yet lay therein, He thanked the Father that He had heard His prayer for the raising of the dead man to life. This He did publicly, and with the expressed intent that the people should hear, and should believe that His Father had already answered His prayer. Then He called Lazarus, and the dead arose, and came forth from the grave. (Jn. 11:40,44).

A noted humorist demonstrated the absurdity of all this by putting into the mouth of a small boy the definition of faith as "Believing something you know isn't true." With a slight modification we might let the definition stand. Believing something as respects the spiritual life, that we know is not true as respects the physical consciousness, believing the promises of God, though every testimony of the senses proclaims them false, believing that God is true, though every man a liar (Rom. 3:4), believing with Abraham that God would make good his promise that in Isaac should his seed be called, and all the families of the earth be blessed, though Isaac give up his life on the altar at God's command, - this is the Christian's faith, and in this faith does he have fellowship with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ. (1 Jn. 1:3).

The disciples asked Christ to teach them how to pray, as John had taught his disciples, and he did so. But not in a set form, for on the two recorded occasions on which he taught it to them the forms were different. (Matt. 6: 9-15; ~~Matt~~ Luke 11:2-4). He did not want them to learn a form, but to grasp the principles underlying all forms of true prayer. Thus the first half of the Lord's Prayer has as its object the glory of God, the second half invokes blessings on man, and in it all both ends are sought, for it has been well said that whatever

on earth glorifies God, at the same time blesses men, and whatever truly blesses men glorifies God. In this wonderful model prayer we are taught that God is our Father and also our King, that the first, and a very important office of prayer is worship, recognition of our Father's love, and of His loving care of us as His children, recognition of our Sovereign's glory and honor, and of His protection and provision for us as His subjects. Then we are instructed to make petitions, but not yet for ourselves alone, nor even for those nearest and dearest to us, Before this we must bear on our hearts before him the needs of all mankind, that they may know themselves as his children, and do his will as it is done by the angels who stand before his presence in heaven.

#Could our Lord have given his disciples an object lesson in love, - love to God and love to man, in a more perfect way?

#But we have individual needs, also, each one differing in some respects from those of any other of our Father's children and he is not content that we shall receive from him in the mass, as we receive the sunshine and the rain from heaven which comes to us as a common gift to all. He is the Father of all men, but he ^{is} a personal, individual Father to each one of us. He therefore desires that we shall each one come to him with our own personal wants, and expect to receive individual, personal attention at his hands, that we shall feel our dependence on him for our daily bread, for our protection from temptation, for our deliverance from the evil that besets at every turn in our path-way. And that we may not forget to forgive our enemies, who, if we have them, are His children also, we are instructed to offer the measure of our own forgiving spirit as the measure according to which we ask to be forgiven by our Father. (Matt. 6:12, 14, 15; Mark 11:25, 26). Christ is the ideal Man, realized on earth by His union with humanity; His church is an ideal brotherhood, as yet unrealized, but in Him to be

realized on earth, as, in the form of His redeemed and glorified Bride, it is realized in heaven. We are infinitely below that ideal, our wills are not conformed to God's will, our characters are not transformed into the likeness of Christ. Every day, every hour we need forgiveness for our sins against God, and every time we ask forgiveness, we, in forgiving our enemies, are in our hearts invoking blessings on their heads. Where is found such provision for the needs of sinful men, where in all the history of literature, sacred or secular, can be found such a treasure house of riches as in the few and simple words of this marvellous prayer, a prayer which the youngest child can understand, but which the wisest of mankind can never exhaust, as it compasses man's whole horizon, his duties, his needs, his longings, his ideals of attainment in character and service? For the Church of Christ to fulfil this prayer would be to realize that supreme aspiration of one who lived in the closest and most constant personal intimacy with his risen and ascended Lord. (Eph. 4:11-13).

"And he gave some (to be) apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ: till we all come in the unity of ^{the} faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."

And yet this prayer which Christ taught His disciples to use hardly more than enters on the threshold of prayer in its highest expression as employed by Christ Himself.. It is recorded that much of His time He was engaged in prayer, but never that He asked his Father for forgiveness for Himself.. He gave much time to communion with His Father, and much to intercession for His disciples, and for them that should believe on Him through their word. And that office He still performs

for His people, for it is written, "He ever liveth to make intercession for them that come unto God by him" (Heb. 7:25). He is our Advocate, as is also the Spirit (Jn. 14:16); He is our Mediator of the covenant (Heb. 9:15; 8:6,8; 1 Tim. 2:5), our merciful and faithful High Priest, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people (Heb. 2:17).

One such prayer has been preserved for us by the Apostle John, - Christ's High priestly prayer of intercession for His disciples, before going forth to His crucifixion (Jn. Ch. 17). As we read these words of our divine Lord and Master, in which He graciously invites us to share with Him in communion with His Father, and our Father, we feel that he is taking us with Him, as once He took His three chosen disciples, to the Mount of Transfiguration, that we may behold His glory unveiled. And our spirits are hushed with awe as we hear with them the Voice out of the cloud, saying, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye Him.'

The test of inspiration, as Baha Ullah rightly insists, is that it shall inspire, the test of divinity requires that he who claims to be divine shall himself in every respect be Godlike. Till Jesus was risen from the dead His disciples had but dimly apprehended His transcendent dignity, and at the time they could have had but an imperfect comprehension of the words of that prayer, as recorded in the 17th Chapter of John, words whose full import could not be expressed in human speech. But after that prayer of their Master had been interpreted to their understanding by the events of the Resurrection morning and of the fifty days that followed, they had a new perspective. They had seen and talked with their risen Lord, again and again; He had lead them out of Bethany, and they had seen Him caught up to heaven; they had come under the controlling power of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost,

the Spirit whom their Lord had sent, and had commissioned to bring to their remembrance all things whatsoever that He had said unto them; - in the light of all these wonderful events they could see in that prayer of our Great High Priest, as they could not have done so fully before, the compelling evidence of His filial relation to the Father with whom He stood on terms of so assured equality.

How divine the harmony of that life, in all that is recorded of its development, as it was lived on earth before their eyes. They knew the story of His sweet and lovable infancy, of the child strong in spirit, and endowed with heavenly grace and wisdom; of His contemplative and engaging youth, concerned already about His Father's business; of the quiet dignity and self-repression of His early manhood, biding in patience His Father's time as He lived the life of an humble artisan in an obscure mountain village. Some of them had witnessed his baptism and had heard the testimony to His messiahship by John, whom all took to be a prophet; some had heard from His own lips the story of the Temptation; all had heard the Sermon on the Mount, in which He laid down the foundation principles of the Kingdom of heaven, which He had come to establish on the earth. And all had had a share in the events with which the three years of His earthly ministry were crowded to the full, and in the training by which the Master had prepared them for taking up His work. Then had come his Transfiguration, His triumphal entry into Jerusalem, His Last Discourse, His trial and crucifixion, His resurrection and ascension, - as they looked back on His life crowded so full of intense activity they saw how beautifully and how completely everything in it all harmonized with the character which He had, by so gradual and almost insensible transitions, led them to recognize in Himself, as the Son of God. Now their eyes were

no longer holden, for the Holy Spirit, the promise of the Father, had come upon them, and now they could see that One who was about to offer up His life that He might take it again, one who saw Himself the only begotten of the Father, exalted at the right hand of God, - how such a one, and no other could have given utterance to such a prayer.

Many others have professed to be what Christ was, and many prayers have been spoken in His name though not in His spirit, many things have been ventured in the endeavor to imitate His messiahship, but no one has yet ventured to attempt imitating this prayer of Christ, who, standing in the Holy of Holies, was about to offer Himself on the altar, a sacrifice for the sins of the people. Never was prayer offered, before or since, in this sin stricken world, so full of significance for man, so rich in every element of hope and promise for the world. To His disciples it brought the conviction that Christ was indeed the Son of God, to all who deny this it becomes a rock of offence. Some deny that He was crucified, thinking to honor Him by making of Him a deceiver of the world; some deny His resurrection, making of the greatest event of the world's history merely a matter of words, to be explained away by other words. His virgin birth is denied to Him, His miracles are converted into figures of speech, His unique Sonship is resolved into a metaphysical speculation, making Him one of many sons, all without a Father. But no one can either deny or allegorize this prayer. It is ^{the} standing, unimpeachable witness before all the ages to the fullness and the finality of the revelation of God in Christ Jesus.

Bahaism, as with all religions, has a large place for prayer, but it has no place for the prayer of the Christian, for it has no basis on which to ground such prayer. The union, in Christ, of the believer with the Father is the foundation of an assurance in prayer which neither Bahaism nor any other religion can supply. The sense of kinship between man and God, the sense of fellowship between the person in the flesh who worships, and the Divine Person in the Spirit, who is the object of his worship, the consciousness that it is not to an atmosphere not to an unknowable and inconceivable essence that he is pouring out his heart's desires, but to an Almighty Friend and Kinsman who is true to every promise, this it is in the life of the Christian that makes of prayer the most real of all his experiences, because it leads him out of the sphere of the things which are seen, which are temporal, into the sphere of the things which are not seen, which are eternal. The Bahai knows himself as a tenant on the estate of an absent sovereign who receives his wages at the hands of a steward; the Christian knows himself as a beloved son, dwelling in his Father's house, clothed in his best robe and for whom is killed the fatted calf, and all that his Father has is his.

Christ has finished His atoning work for the sin of the world, but he is still at work in the world through his Spirit in the Church in persuading sinners to avail themselves of that finished work and be reconciled to God. The Church is his chosen Bride; He has desired to glorify her, to honor her by sharing so great a work with her, and in thus putting himself under self-limitation for her sake he can only work through her. He is ready to send the Spirit to endow her with power, but He can only do this to the extent to which she, being transformed into His likeness, is able to truly ask in His name.

This He invites her, and urges her to do, promising to reward her richly. The Bride has been slow to realize her high calling, to know herself and her Lord. She has been asleep, narcotized by the allurements of the flesh. Slowly, but surely she is coming to self consciousness, coming to recognize herself as the chosen one of her Beloved, with a growing consciousness of her power in the Spirit. She is learning how to pray, she is awakening to the call she has received to the ministry of intercession, she hears with a half conscious wonderment the voice of the Bridegroom calling to her,

"Arise, shine; for thy light has come,
And the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee.

.....

"And nations shall come to thy light,
And kings to the brightness of thy rising." (Isa. 60:1,3)

And as she begins to take up in earnest the work her Lord has graciously given her to do for Him again she hears the Bridegroom's voice, saying,

"Lift up thine eyes round about, and see:
They all gather themselves together, they come to thee:
Thy sons shall come from far,
And thy daughters shall be carried in the arms." (~~Isa. 60:1-4~~)

"Then shalt thou see and be radiant,
And thy heart shall thrill and be enlarged;
Because the abundance of the sea shall be turned unto thee,
The wealth of the nations shall come unto thee." (Isa. 60:4,5)

Dr. Holmes greatest apologetic work, however, was done in conferences with the Bahais. Bahaism is an offshoot from Islam which in its presentation to the west is a pacifistic theism so tolerant as to be comprehensive of everything and exclusive of nothing, but in Persia it has had a quite different aspect. There it has been an esoteric pantheism, ethically hurtful by reason of the doctrine of legitimate dissimulation, holding no revelation to be final,

hopelessly allegorical and unrealistic. Although more or less surreptitiously there were nevertheless many men known as Bahais in Hamadan and Dr. Holmes came into close association with them and thoroughly understood their positions or lack of positions and during the last fifteen years of his life in Persia and in America he worked on careful statements setting forth Bahaism and its doctrines on the one side and the countering Christian positions on the other.

Quotations from some letters will indicate how he was drawn into these discussions and how in later years he was led on to ^{plan} ~~prepare~~ a great treatise which would fill in the controversy with Bahaism the place which Raymond Lull's "Ars Major sine Generalis" filled in the work for Moslems in the thirteenth century:

Wellesley, Mass., January 28, 1900

I wish you could tell me, ~~however~~, whether there is any work in English dealing with the question of the Messianic Ides from the point of view of the Jews before the time of Christ, - the testimony of the Jews as to the Messianic prophecies. A good deal of this is given in Ederheim (which I hope soon to have from Minneapolis) but not sufficiently in detail to suit my purpose. When Isaiah 53 is, for instance, claimed to have been fulfilled in Jeremiah, it is desirable to have the consensus of Jewish opinion to the contrary, could such be obtained. I wonder that the systematic lives of Christ so commonly ignore this evidence, what there is of it. I have found to my delight a book I have been very anxious to see #Carnarvan's "Religion of the Druses," which shows how in a particular instance Bahaism was anticipated by Hakem Be amr Allah, the ^{Isatemite} ~~Isatemite~~ Caliph, 800 years ago. I created great consternation among the Bahais in Hamadan by telling them of this system but had little documentary evidence then."

Wellesley, Mass. October 30, 1900

✍ We are enjoying every hour of our life here, which is quiet and restful, ideally so, almost, and which, with all that is within easy reach, would be idyllic were One gracious presence more consciously with us. I have not wholly given up the hope of seeing the mist you speak of, dispelled, for I know it is but a mist, but a mist may hide the mountains as effectually as a dungeon might do. I have, however, once or twice caught a glimpse through the leaden sky of a realm of light beyond, as it were a window looking into heaven, such as I told you of beholding on my night ride from Teheran. But everything soon fades away, and leaves me perplexed with the mystery why with all my striving, and with all my withholding from striving. I am no nearer my goal. I have read all the helps that have come within my reach. One says to strive, and Christ says strive, and I have strived. Another says "cease from striving," and I have abstained from striving, and oftentimes with instantaneous, though always transitory blessing. Christ says, "If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide," but how can one have power to keep His commandments save through abiding? Surely I have sought through all these years to keep His commandments, but does ~~not~~ one not feel his inability to do more than to suffer, or even to do that acceptably, so long as the beatific vision is denied him.

✍ I wish a good man might be found for Hamadan. The ^{Bahai} ~~Behane~~ native physicians in Hamadan are making a determined effort to break down the faith of the less mature of our young doctors, and they need the support of a wise and skillful physician. ^{Some of these young doctors} ~~Musa, Daniel, Raheem and Assatur,~~ the ~~Armenian~~, are able to hold their own in their professional work, and the ^{some} ~~first three~~ are strong in spirit, but the others are weak in both respects, and need the help which a missionary physician could afford, and if that cannot be furnished, they should have such active support from the mission

as shall enable them to weather the storm now beating upon them. All the leading Jewish physicians there are Bahaees. Some of them are quite capable, both in healing the sick and in intrigue. They have the confidence of very many of the prominent men there and I never attempted to disturb that confidence, seeking rather to enlist them as friends, in the effort to reform their practice, than to antagonize them. In this much success has been gained. But the spirit of intolerance inherent in Bahaism, even more if possible than in Islam, is at work, and now that I am out of the way, they are trying to force these young men back into the fold, (these three had been counted by them as adherents) and to accomplish this, are doing all they can to discredit them as physicians. They were only beginning independent practice when I left them, and they find it uphill work, under the circumstances. They deserve well of us, two of them never having received any salary during their period of study, though freely giving their time and labor, and the other having received only a nominal salary for one or two years. They have now about exhausted their means, and by my leaving are thrown on their own resources while yet unable to stand alone. ~~I had provided for Alirza Yakob as I thought, Dr. Wishard having engaged him for a year in a responsible work at the close of which he would have had prestige and skill which would have given him a good send off, but the sudden death of Mrs. Wishard abruptly closed that open door. If Dr. Wishard returns this fall or if another physician goes then he will, I suppose, be needed there. In that case but two will be left, Mayer and Hayem; Mayer will doubtless be needed by Dr. Wilson at Hamadan and I hope he will then be introduced to other work through her instrumentality, which will put him on his feet. In that case Hayem alone would be left. I understand he has gone to Nohavend, in the hope of finding practice there. But if he holds fast to his profession he is going to find the way a thorny one as there are many Bahaees there who are in close touch with the Hamaden men.~~

I do not suppose these young men are going to need any help very long. One good client leads to another, and time will doubtless solve the problem if they can hold out long enough. But as I say, they have pretty well exhausted their means in getting ready for work with the expectation that with me to back them they would soon be able to recoup themselves. I propose this: that these young men, whether they be one, two or three, be sent, if prepared to go, to Nehavend, / Bumijurd, Bi~~h~~jar or elsewhere in our field, to locate and to open / Mission / Dispensaries, receiving for that purpose a supply of medicines for free distribution, or for which but a nominal charge is made, as in Hamadan. Of these they should be required to give account, making monthly reports of persons to whom given, and from whom money was received, so that charges, which will surely be made against them by interested parties, could be easily investigated. Religious services should be held regularly, and the Dispensary made a center for religious work in conversations, distribution of literature, etc. Pretty frequent visits should be made to these places by the missionaries, and also by Mirza Ohannis, the pastor, who should be urged to give more of his time than heretofore to evangelistic work if possible to spare him now from Hamadan, and a stay of several days or weeks should be made in the vicinity to follow up impressions made on those who visit the Dispensary. The latter should be recognized as a Mission Dispensary both on account of its religious influences, and~~h~~also to add the prestige of the mission to its agent, and thus strengthen his hand, but otherwise the physician should not be much hampered in his work, which should be in all respects except in the name, independent. To enable him to undertake this, he should have a temporary loan of from fifty to one hundred tomans, without interest, to be repaid in small amounts monthly, till cancelled.

"I believe that this scheme will work if it can be carefully superintended, and that it will open up new self-supporting centers of Christian influence, while otherwise these young men are in danger of being discredited, and perhaps dragged back into the slough of Bahaism. They will not need help long, but to be of service it must be prompt.

"I say it will succeed, if carefully superintended. The condition applies equally to every form of Christian work in Persia. Once in a long time a man like Mirza Saeed is raised up in Persia, who does not require other direction than the Spirit of God to keep him at work, looking unto Jesus as a sufficient stimulus to effective work. ~~Mirza Maesa appears to be another such, and Mirza Israil, as I knew him some years ago, also. But the spirit of our Christian converts in Persia is mercenary, to a degree which must make us all grieve, and which has recently been exemplified in Gulisim and Reuben, and this appears to be the level to which everything gravitates, unless outside influences be frequently brought to bear.~~

"Now a word concerning the ^aBehaees. I was drawn into discussion with their two chief apostles in Hamadan, through an intrigue, and much against my will. A physician who had been coming from time to time himself, asked permission to bring a friend who wished to learn of Christ. Of course he was invited to come. Before he did so I learned that he was a Behae missionary but I could not well refuse him admission on that account. He did not ask for a public discussion, but on the contrary sought for successive private interviews that we might talk over these matters between ourselves without confusion or disturbance from others. I said I was not a theologian, and tried to shift the responsibility to the shoulders of Mr. Hawkes or Mr. Watson, but it seemed to fall upon me either to take up the

gage or retire from the field, for I had for some time been meeting
 others of this faith regularly in company with Mr. Hawkes. I finally agreed
 to discuss the questions with him in private, only a few of either side
 being present, on the following basis: 1st, the standard of authority
 like the Old and New Testament. 2nd, Scripture to be the interpreter
 of Scripture, not individual fancy. 3rd, The Scriptures to be interpreted
 according to ^{their} ~~its~~ plain and obvious sense, which must be accepted as both
 literal and spiritual, except when it was plainly intended to be under-
 stood only literally, or was plainly figurative or symbolical. 4th, That
 appealing, as Baha did to the New Testament, in support of his claims, the
 testimony of the New Testament must be accepted throughout. In the course
 of the discussion I learned much about the doctrines of Baha which had
 before been vague. I must say the same in regard to my own faith. I had
 never been a literalist, but the vaporizing tactics of the ^{Bahais} ~~Bahaees~~ with every
 text that ran counter to their teachings, made a fog bank of everything, en-
 veloping their antagonist in a haze of fine spun speculations, and giving
 him nothing but mist to strike back at. I insisted on fair-fighting. If
 they spiritualized Christ's death and resurrection, His miracles and His
 work, they must also spiritualize His incarnation, and that left no founda-
 tion to Baha's claim to be God manifest in the flesh.

I discovered after some time that they were systematically misrepresent-
 ing to their disciples and the public, the character of the discussions,
 which they could do, owing to their being conducted in private, and that I
 was represented as having been utterly overthrown in the arguments. I then
 demanded that the talks should for the future be in public, a thing I had
 been urging for a long time. They finally yielded, but seeing that they
 were getting the worst of it, their adherents, as I believe by a pre-
 arrangement, disturbed the meetings, and finally I was treated with so

great disrespect that I declined to continue the discussions further. We parted, however, pleasantly and amicably. Up to that time all the discussions were conducted in an irenic spirit, and my relation with them continued very friendly.

I did not intend to take the initiative in publishing an account of the discussions, satisfied as I was that they would deny everything they had admitted, and place me at a disadvantage by charges of fighting men of straw. Now they have come out with their book, the writing of which was what they had in view from the outset. Their unblushing misrepresentations, or perhaps their ingenious misrepresentations have evidently disconcerted our friends, but I would rather meet two men in the open, than one in a thicket, and I am very glad my adversary has written a book. He has the advantage being on his own ground, and among his own people, and I must suffer loss in reputation with them, and probably with some of the missionaries for a time, probably for my life time or longer, but I feel confident that the ultimate result will be good, whether I answer this book or not. I believe that Mirza Musa has the matter in him, written on his heart, and that he and others will be helped by it. Aga Hayem, however, and Mirza Saeed, who heard their statements of the discussions, but did not hear the discussions, were afraid I was being worsted, and so did Mr. Watson, who got his information from the others. Mr. Hawkes, however, with whom I kept in touch through it all, supported me throughout with his endorsement and counsel. I am willing to await the verdict of the future, assured that wisdom is justified of her children. As soon as I can get an abstract of the book from Hamadan, I shall set to work on the answer which I will submit to you, if you have time then to examine it. I shall make it as brief as possible. Meanwhile I hope to begin soon the other little book, a partial syllabus of which I once sent you, a book for the Jews only, referring only incidentally to the teachings of Baha. I should have had this ready before now, had I not

felt compelled to readjust my own views as to the date of much of the Mosaic legislation. Whether I can adjust my theory of the spiritual movement observable in Jewish history to the new views remains to be seen. They clear up many things hard to be understood from the traditional point of view, but they cannot be utilized in a work of this kind, as they would play into the hands of the ^a~~Bahá~~^í~~í~~, and would be misunderstood by the Jews. I don't suppose I have accepted anything specially so far, as I have not learned much in detail, but I can agree with McConnell that the spiritual movement in the history of the world antedates the record we have of it, and that it is greater and more comprehensive, and more authoritative than the record, therefore that when the two come in conflict, as in some of the accounts of the destruction of the Canaanites, the record must yield precedence to the law of the Spirit written both in the Book and in our hearts. But I can see no way of preserving the Book, according to this theory, except by means of a theory of inspiration very different from the traditional one. I am glad I can see light in this direction, for otherwise I had been between the upper and the nether millstones. I have no doubt it is all clear enough to you whatever your views of inspiration.

I ought to say that I believed at the time and still believe, that in almost every single instance, the position of the ^a~~Bahá~~^í~~í~~ was shown by the plain declaration of Scripture to be untenable, not only by the text, but by the general tenor of the Scriptural record. I took the position that the Bible was not simply a body of laws and of precepts, and of history and prophecy, but that it was a living organism, animated by a formative vital principle, that of this organism the written record was the body, and redemption the spirit, that the Law was likewise an organism of which the commands and precepts were the body, and righteousness was the spirit. I was constantly amazed at my readiness in answering the skillful questionings of those men who were well versed in the Old Testament

and I cannot doubt that strength and wisdom were given me for the task.

I have written a good deal about Bahaism. In my opinion it will ere long overrun Persia. As a faith Islam has little vitality among the Persian proper, though as a social fabric it has immense power of resistance. Baha furnished a new incentive to faith, while leaving untouched the social system. It is a persecuting faith, as will plainly appear when it grows stronger. Christianity will have to reckon with it before her conquests are complete.

I have no hope of going back to Persia. My career there has been somewhat picturesque, perhaps, but I can see little if any good that has been accomplished throughout all these years, if my influence on Mirza Musa, and possibly Mirza Daniel, be excepted. The latter, however, was largely under the influence of Dr. W. and toward the last I could see that I had but a slender hold on him, as was the case with all the other missionaries.

I have this to ask of you as a friend, that when I die you will stand guard over the pages of our missionary publications, and see that there is no eulogium pronounced upon me then by any too partial friend. This is not spoken in a spirit of great humility, but simply with the feeling that I have, owing to peculiar circumstances been judged by my friends more leniently than I deserve, and I do not want to take a mask with me into the future world. I have not sought position or honors, but I have desired the good will of my immediate friends, beyond my deserts.

Wellesley, Mass., November 19, 1900

I shall be very glad to have the article you mention, "Christ esteems our Dispositions less than our Wills," when published. But is not our disposition the product of our wills, and must He not be better pleased with the result than with the means employed to bring it about?

The Baháeés are a brotherhood. The idea of fellowship is assiduously cultivated by them. They meet constantly from house to house, and show the graces of hospitality in a more than oriental degree. Through these means they touch one of the strongest impulses of the human heart, that which accounts for the multitudes of fraternities among all classes in this country, that which accounts for much of the success of the Episcopalians in the last decade or two in drawing off from the other Churches through church clubs, boys choirs, etc. etc. that which led to so much of the having all things in common in the early Church. Where then is so strong a bond of fellowship an esprit is aroused, such as is found in a military organization which impels men to do and to suffer much that without such a stimulus they would fail to do. One who suffers is a hero in the eyes of the entire circle of those whose good will he cares for, one who dies is a martyr, whose name not alone is canonized, but who confers dignity upon his family. Then many of them have acted under the inspiration of a personal call and commission to a dangerous duty, by the one whom they believe to be God. It is not at all strange that potential martyrs should be found in every community under such circumstances. It is very clear that we missionaries lose immeasurably in our inability to enter into the life of the people more than we do, and to set an example to them of brotherly love and fraternal fellowship, such as our Lord showed in His life on earth. It has ~~long~~ always seemed to me to be the one thing most desirable in our missionary work, and yet the one thing, under our present methods most unattainable. The presence of children in the missionary home, so far as I can see, effectually bans such intercourse, unless the parents are prepared to sacrifice both the health and the morals of their children. And the problem cannot be solved by celibates, men or women. To me it appears insoluble, and yet I do not believe it is insoluble, for if so, Christianity has failed in one of its very highest functions. .

After I last wrote you I received a letter from an old and valued friend, which showed that the request I made of you regarding the biographical notice, was not without reason. He had not written me for a long time, and he made amends for it, by attributing to me a great many virtues and accomplishments which I never possessed and some of which were so conspicuously lacking in me as to make their application to me appear almost ludicrous. I remember seeing a ditty by Charles Lummis, in one of the magazines a few years ago entitled, "A Halo that don't Fit," and I have a great shrinking from going down to the grave wearing one of that kind.

Wellesley, Mass. January 12, 1902.

You ask me about the little book on the ^aBahais. I have found so much that is contradictory in their teachings that I have come to the conclusion that I must throw aside all I have written about them and set to work and make a new and more thorough study of the system. I have got hold of a good deal of new matter, including four pamphlets by Abbas Effendi which Mr. Easton succeeded in borrowing from one of their inquirers, and which I am copying. Also Brown^ε's translation of the "Tasikk-e-Jadeil", "The New History", which I had not seen before, and a good deal of which the latter has written in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Also Professor Ross's article in "Great Religions of the World", and Brown^ε's article in "Religious Systems of the World," the two latter being summaries, mainly historical. Brown^ε's article in the latter work, on ^{Dufrism} ~~Safeism~~, is of great value in this connection. I have recently read an article in the American Journal of Theology by Vatulsky, a Bulgarian, ~~who attended the lectures both public and private at Kenesha.~~ It is, I think, in the January number. He has been here at Harvard but has now gone back to Bulgaria. I am very sorry not to have met him here.

I am afraid I am not now going to have my manuscript ready by the time the party goes to Persia. Mr. Easton writes me that ^{Khavalla} ~~Kheivalla~~, whose book you have seen, has been discredited by the sect, owing to his refusal to follow Abba Effendi in setting himself up as God, and that ^{an} ~~Kheivalla~~ has now few followers. Of course all he has written becomes then discredited. The movement is still in flux, and there is no telling what it will ultimately develop.

Boonton, New Jersey

(Received January 9, 1907)

I am really and truly at work again in the ^{Be} ~~Beha~~ book, after two or more years in which I have not been able to read anything heavier than a newspaper or magazine article. I threw overboard everything I had written and began anew. It has been like building a pier in the sea which the waves scatter as fast as the work is done. Yet something seems to be coming out of it after all but it is slow and painful work.

Boonton, New Jersey February 23, 1907.

For three years I was unable to read anything but newspapers. For I was without faith and without faith the universe is a riddle not worth un-raveling. Now I have faith, and I am hungry for the best things in theology, philosophy, psychology, religious history, comparative religion, and Christology, besides the special subjects of Islam, Bahaism, and Judaism. I must vastly broaden my base if I am to do anything about completing the book. So far I have not got hold of the clue, and am here and there blazing a pathway through the jungle by its help. The different sections were at different leach and different angles, and I am continually getting lost in trying to connect them, for my memory is of little or no help to me. It is like the valley of dry bones, all of which are disarticulate and unrelated. Even what I have written represents only the mood of the moment, and much of it belies, as does so much else

that I write, my real sentiments. If I live to give the work shape and direction, so that it becomes a true organism, and not a Frankenstein of patchwork, I shall be only too glad to have you go over it and criticize it both kindly and mercilessly. For unless it passes muster here with wiser heads than mine it will be sure to fail of its object in the field. Should I fall by the wayside before I have accomplished this, I have instructed my wife to destroy all that I have myself written, saving only the memoranda I have collected from others.

Since you inquire again about the book, I think I will tell you a little of what I am trying to do. They continue calling for it from Hamadan, though not on the part of the missionaries, and I am now at work doing my best to supply the demand. I must, however, do a lot of reading before I can write much more than I have. In response to your request for copy, I am trying to write out an outline of the work that you may get an idea of its drift. I have never yet been able to do this, though I have many, many times attempted it. My mind simply won't work spontaneously in that way. I have only been able to do the work piecemeal, and then try to connect the pieces into a patchwork. I am now trying again and am meeting with more success. The stimulus thus given from without seems to supply a power which is lacking from within. I thought I had it nearly ready, but it has so many erasures and interlineations that I shall have to copy it, which I hope to do Monday. I shall be very glad to have your opinion candidly expressed as to the validity of the reasoning, so far as it goes, and also as to its expediency, even to the extent of requiring if necessary, an entire restatement of the question.

Boonton, New Jersey,
October 31, 1908

"I enclose you three chapters, "The Doctrine of Man. - The Incarnation," "The Doctrine of Man.-The Law of the Spirit", and "The Doctrine of Immortality". I do not feel that I have differentiated, that I have been able to express in language the distinctions that are apparent to my own mind, between the conception of the Bahai "Manifestation" and the Christian conception of the Godman. I hope you can help me to make it clearer;

I ought not to be sending you these things until I have given an account of the Bahai doctrines. But that I could not do fairly, without first giving an account of the religious conceptions out of which they were generated, and that will take a good while yet to compile. I at last found it possible to cut loose myself, and begin on the main canvas, and I thought it best while the inspiration was with me to paint the picture as I saw it. I could not have done this had I not already prepared a good mental background. But I feel that it is all tentative as yet, and I am uncertain what shape it is going to take in the outcome. It is evident that I shall have to cut out much that I have expected to include in the book, or it will become unwieldy.

I hope I haven't strayed too far in the direction of philosophy. I want to give an intensely evangelistic tone to the book but we are obliged to meet them on their own ground, as well as on ground of our own choosing.

Boonton, New Jersey, January 12, 1909

"It has occurred to me that Dr. Wishard's book on Persia might be put to excellent service along the same lines if the publishers could see their way to advertise it extensively. As a record of personal

adventure, and of a rich and well-rounded experience of Persian life, extremely well told, it is very interesting, quite apart from its identification with the cause of missions. It ought to arouse an interest, in medical missions at least, among many who would not look into a book appealing more directly to a missionary constituency. The highly appreciative notices of the book in the "Times Saturday Review of Books" and in the "Outlook" would help its sale.

✍ I wish you would return to me the chapters on Bahaism I sent you. I have decided to recast the book, perhaps entirely to rewrite these chapters, condensing very much, and I hope, putting it into better English. It is, for one thing, too controversial in tone. I have tried to avoid that fault but have not succeeded to my satisfaction. Unless I can make of it a persuasive appeal I shall feel that I have missed my opportunity. Dr. Wishard has not made this mistake. The Outlook says in effect, "It is evident that he loves the Persians." No one who does not love them ought to write books for them.

✍ Another thing I am anxious to do is to write for the Persian of the era that is approaching there, rather than for the immediate present. I must therefore make it harmonize with present day thought at home, or rather it should not antagonize the consensus of Christian thought at home. In recasting it I shall begin with the doctrines of Bahaism, and later on introduce as much of history as the needs require. But it may be that I will write only two or three disconnected monographs on special features of Bahaism (I have changed the spelling of Baha to conform to the method of transliteration adopted by the English speaking Bahais in most of their recent publications).

✍ At first I felt debarred from calling the attention of others to Dr. Wishard's book, on account of the references to myself in its pages.

But I have concluded that what he has said between the lines about Muzaffar-ed-Deen Shah's judgment, and of the character of his administration furnishes a sufficient antidote to anything appreciative he may have said of my relations with him.

The great book was never finished. With the great mass of material which he had prepared in first or second drafts he left the following Memorandum:

New York, April 21, 1907
 "Should anything happen to prevent my carrying out my purpose of using the materials here gathered in the preparation of a pamphlet on Bahaism and Christianity I hope at least to get the materials ready for such a work which another may utilize.

"But if these papers should fall into the hands of another to work up, I want it to be understood that they are only material and that I should be unwilling for anything that I myself have written to go into print in its present form. All that I have so far written has been written for my own use not for the public. These things have been in the nature of brief preliminary notes, written out in order to familiarize my mind with the path to be traversed, to test its correctness, to develop its difficulties, to harmonize its contradictions, and to enable me to establish a datum by which to shape its general course. In many places it must leave the surface and be conducted by causeways of great length and elevation. These must be thoroughly tested at every point before committing to them the precious freight designed to be carried over its lines. Till this is done let no one consider any of it fit for publication."

(Signed) George Holmes

~~New York, April 21, 1907.~~

It will not be a violation of this charge, however, to present the outline of the book and a statement which he prepared "To the friends who are interested in the study of Bahaism." The outline was as follows:

BHAISM AND CHRISTIANITY

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. Reasons for undertaking to write the present work
2. Classifications of Religions.
3. Bahaism professes to be the Universal Religion.
4. Truth found in every religious system

CHAPTER II

RELIGIONS OF GREECE AND ROME

1. The Aryans and their Primitive Nature Worship.
2. The Early Greek Poets and their Mythologies.
3. The Greek Philosophers. The Stoics and their Interpolations . Hylozaism
4. The Religions and Philosophies of Rome.

CHAPTER III

RELIGIONS OF INDIA

1. Brahmanism.
2. Buddhism.
3. Modern Hinduism.
4. Modern Theosophy.

CHAPTER IV

ZOROASTRIANISM

1. Cyrus and the Enlargement of Japheth.
2. The Religion of the Avesta. Dualism.

CHAPTER V.

RABBINISM.

1. Making the Word of God of no effect.. The Kabbala.
2. Hellenism. Philo, and His Interpretations of the Old Testament History.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EARTHLY MINISTRY OF CHRIST.

Messianic Prophecy. The Messianic Hope

1. Christ's Credentials. His Attestation by John. His Life and Teachings. His Works. His Death and Resurrection. Rejected by the Pharisees not because of literal interpretation of the prophecies, the Pharisees accustomed to interpret figuratively. Had they interpreted Isaiah literally they must have believed.

CHAPTER VII.

GNOSTICISM

1. An attempt to merge Christianity with Paganism.
2. Allegorical interpretations.

CHAPTER VIII.

NEOPLATONISM.

1. An attempt to merge Christianity with Greek Philosophy.
2. Allegorical interpretations.

CHAPTER IX.

MANICHAËISM.

1. An attempt to merge Christianity with Zoroastrianism.
2. Allegorical interpretations.

CHAPTER X.

ISLAM

Isaac and Ishmael. Jehovah and Allah. Abrahams Faith and Abraham's conception of God. The ~~Hebrew~~ ^{Arabic}. Moses' message.

1. Its providential mission to save Christianity. The latter's overthrow of Western pantheism in the days of its youth and spiritual power. But what pantheism and the persecuting emperors could not do weakening Christianity, Constantine, the first Christian Emperor did.. Weakened by worldly affiliations, and by the impress made on it by Gnosticism, Neoplatonism, Manichaeism, etc. it was in no condition for a fresh encounter with a more subtle and dangerous form of pantheism, that of the Far East. Western pantheism predominantly a philosophy, Eastern pantheism predominantly a religion. The proselyting spirit left to the Nestorians, together with great intellectual activity. Christianity and Brahmanism must soon have come to close quarters but for the rise of Islam.
2. The Dogma of the Imam. The Concealed Imam. The Ahwab. Occultation. The influence in Islam of the conception of a permanent, personal spiritual presence.

CHAPTER XI

ISMAILISM

6. The Abbasids and their "mission" (dawa). Abu Muslim.
The Messianic hope.
1. Abdullah ʿ. Maimun el Kaddah.
2. Doctrines. Pythagorean doctrines of Numbers. Allegorical interpretation. "Bada", change of divine purpose in prophecy.
3. Hakim.
4. Karmat.
5. Hassan ben Sabah.

CHAPTER XII.

SUFISM

A DEVELOPMENT OF THEOSOPHY IN ISLAM.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE BAB.

1. The Sheikhs. The Prophets of Daniel. "He whom God will manifest."
2. Doctrines of Primitive Babism. The Number 19. The Bab's Credentials.
The Sword of the Spirit and the Powers Militant in Religion
The execution of the Bab.
3. The Doctrine of Re-Incarnation, and its influence on all shades of religious belief among the heretical sects of Islam in Persia.
Readiness of the people to receive a claimant to Messiahship arising within their own sect.

CHAPTER XIV.

BAHAISM.

1. Baha Ullah and Sobh-i-Ezel. "Bada" sufficient explanation of a change of divine purpose. His parentage. His Statesmanship.
Exile to Adrianople and Acca. His writings. His genius.

CHAPTERS XV AND XVI.

BAHAISM.

1. Its claim to authority as a universal religion.
2. Its claim to be a fulfillment of Christianity as Chra of Indaism (Islam?)
3. Its system of Allegorical Interpretation.
4. Its Doctrine of God.
5. Its Doctrine of Man, his Origin and Destiny.
- ~~6. Its Doctrine of Manifestation.~~
7. Its Interpretation of the Christian Doctrine of the Incarnation.
7. Its Doctrines of "Manifestations," and of Spiritual Cycles by which the "day" of Christ ended A.D. 621, giving place to Islam as Islam now gives place to Bahaism.
8. Its Doctrine of Revelation
- ~~9. Its Doctrine of Cycles.~~
10. Its attitude towards Sin.
11. Its Interpretations of Faith and Knowledge, The Atonement; Immortality.

CHAPTER XVII.

CHRISTIANITY.

1. Its central fact the supreme manifestation of God in Jesus Christ.
2. God the personal righteous Father, impersonally and personally revealed in His work and His written word, self revealed in His Son.
3. God revealed as existing, not as a numerical, but as a social unity.
4. God desires to be known by His children and has given them faculties enabling them to know Him and to hold communion with Him.
5. In communicating His own life to the believer Christ makes it possible for man to enter into filial relations with the Father, to know God, and in loving and obeying Him to come into harmony with the divine order.
6. The Divine order, energized by one moral motive - love.
7. Sin is antagonism to the Divine order, and hateful to God
8. Christ the Ideal Man
9. The Atonement a Divine Sacrifice to deliver man from sin.
10. The New Birth the entering into vital relations of spiritual life of the believer with Christ - the vine and the branches.
11. The personal resurrection of Christ from the dead; the assurance to the believer on Him of a personal immortality with Him beyond the grave.
12. The Holy Spirit the living personal Presence of Christ immanent in the world and carrying on Christ's work continuously.
13. Christianity the absolute religion, which meets and satisfies the universal needs of man. It is therefore the ultimate, the final truth of revelation.
14. Union with Christ, and the Divine life in realized by faith, through which the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus makes the sinner free from the law of sin and death, -
15. That Christianity is not a preparatory stage of a fuller and more perfect religion, that its day did not end thirteen hundred years ago, yielding the stage then to Islam, and now more absolutely to Bahaism, is demonstrated in the fact that Christianity is making greater conquests today than at any period of its history, and that its spiritual life is on a higher plane than at any period except when it was suffering from the fires of persecution.

The Miracle of Christ

The Resurrection of Christ.

Meier with the Essence loses the individual life and adds nothing to the Infinite. The power to praise and serve ^{is} lost.

The identification of Christ with humanity permits man to cooperate with Him in the work of redemption. Intercessory prayer and its prerogatives.

The Sacraments, the symbol of purification and of mystic man with Christ. Love the Fulfilling of the Law. Faith the Spiritual Bond with Christ.

CHAPTER XVIII.

DOES BAHAIISM FULFIL CHRISTIANITY?

1. Progressive revelation a dogma of Bahaism
2. Christianity a Fulfilment of the Law of Moses.
3. Christianity a Development of Judaism.
4. Bahaism a development, not of Christianity, but of Islam.
5. Islam not developed out of Christianity, nor a fulfilment of it.
6. Bahaism teaches that the Cycle of Christ closed with the appearance of Mohammed, when the Cycle of the Koran began, A.D. 621. Not Bahaism, therefore, but Islam succeeded to the spiritual inheritance directly, Bahaism succeeding only after the Cycle of the Koran closed, A.D. 1844. If the doctrine of spiritual cycles is true, Islam, therefore, and not Bahaism must, in the most direct sense, have fulfilled the Cycle of Christ. The burden of proof is therefore thrown on Bahaism to show in what particulars Islam manifests progress in revelation over Christianity. Reversion to type of Judaism in Islam, and Bahaism's reaction from this toward Christian freedom. Did Mohammed believe himself to be a divine being? Did Mohammed reveal any truths concerning God or man of a higher order than those revealed by Christ and the Hebrew prophets? What truth does Baha reveal of ~~a~~ a higher order than Christianity?
7. At the beginning of the Christian era the world was sunk in moral, spiritual and social degradation and ignorance and was horribly oppressed by political tyrants. That the world has made immense progress in these respects, and in the arts of life which make the conditions of living better is apparent to all men of intelligence. If it is true that these improved conditions are most apparent, indeed almost exclusively found, in Christian lands, and of those, in lands where Christianity has been unfettered by alliance with the state, or the domination of a priestly class, then the burden of proof is thrown on Bahaism to explain these wonderful facts consistently with its dogma that the "Day" of Christ passed out of spiritual reckoning thirteen hundred years ago, and that it remains in the world only as a pathetic survival of former glory, the husk from which the kernel has long ago dropped away, ~~and~~ hanging empty on its bough. (See "Outlook," Jan. 8, 1910 and Harnack's "What is Christianity").

CHAPTER XIX.

VITAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN BAHAIISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

1. The Law of evolution appealed to by Abdul Baha, requires that the higher product shall have well marked affinities with the form from which it has evolved. If therefore it be shown that the resemblances between the doctrines of Bahaism and those of Christianity are superficial, while their differences are radical, then the burden of proof is thrown on Bahaism to explain those differences in other ways than by a mere verbal "interpretation."

~~CHAPTER XX.~~
~~A UNIVERSAL RELIGION~~

1. Definition of a universal religion.
2. Many particulars in which Bahaism appears to be in agreement with Christianity
3. Both claim to be universal religions. Christianity makes claim on the ground that it satisfies all spiritual needs of humanity. Bahaism makes claim to a principle of unity which includes all religions in itself.
4. Both teach that there are elements of truth in all religions, and that all truth is of God, wherever found. Bahaism content to discover truth, Christianity makes it effective. One a philosopher's method, the other a Saviour's. Christianity rejoices in truth, wherever found, and seeks to free it from its errors.
5. Both teach that God is One. But the Bahai cannot say this as a positive affirmation, for Bahaism teaches that the Essence is above all comprehension, and only to be described negatively. Only to be affirmed that he is an essence, unknowable. Christianity affirms with buoyant faith the unity of God, his holiness, etc. for Christianity teaches that God is a personal God, who knows and is known.
6. Both teach that God has manifested himself in the flesh in order to reveal himself to men. But in Bahaism this ^{an objective} *revelation* ~~is~~, as in a mirror, in Christianity a self revelation in his Son, one an educative process, the other a life. Bahaism forbids to any except the Manifestation all knowledge of the invisible God, the Father Almighty, Christianity invites all believers to the fellowship of the Father and of the Son. The Bahai conception of God held by all the heathen nations when Christ came, now confined mostly to India. Christianity teaches that God came in the flesh once, Bahaism says many times. Christianity that He came as a divine eternal personality, Bahaism that He came as a human personality, which, like the body, perishes, though having a divine soul an emanation from the Essence which is eternal.
7. Both teach that Christ is the Son of God. But Bahaism knows him as such only in a metaphysical sense, which applies equally to the prophets, and with great emphasis, to Baha Ullah, the Greatest Name of God.

CHAPTER XX

VITAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN BAHAIISM AND CHRISTIANITY, - CONTINUED

8. THE INCARNATION. The law of the spirit of life. The Incarnation not merely an educative process, but a divine life brought to men, not an outward manifestation, but an inward principle. Many manifestations necessary if the object educative, not ~~only~~ if the object redemptive. Moses and the prophets. These construed by Bahaism in a sense different from their plain meaning. How the creeds came to be formulated. Reasons for showing need of a unique Incarnation. John Baptist and Jesus. The Lamb of God. John's doubts. Doctrine of the Atonement beyond his depth. A doctrine unknown to Bahaism. Difficulty of revealing truth by means of language, even by means of a perfect example. Language imperfect, and easily misinterpreted. A perfect example misunderstood. Revelation by imparting a life. Christ's witness to personality of the Father. The Holy Spirit. An essence conceived of as acting on men as light on plants, by classes, not as individuals.
- 9 THE LAW OF THE SPIRIT OF LIFE IN CHRIST JESUS. The freedom of the children of God and the bondage of the flesh. "It is expedient for you that I go away." Many incarnations, (Doctrine of) ignores the Atonement. Christ immanent in the world. The method of training by Christ antagonized by conception of multiple incarnations.

The paper explanatory ^{in preparing this book} of his purpose, and summarizing his line of thought,

which bears no date, was as follows:

✓To the friends who are interested in the study of Bahaism:

✓As our train on the Canadian Pacific climbed the valley of the Kicking Horse River, in British Columbia, I found myself interested not alone in the fascinations of the mountain torrent hurrying ever downward to the sea, and the grandeur of the mighty mountains which shut in the horizon on every side. I was very curious about the origin of the singular name of the stream, which I learned was given to it on account of an incident connected with the discovery of the pass. Many successful attempts had been made by the engineers of the railroad company to find a practicable passage for the road over the highest range of the Rocky Mountains to Alberta. The engineers had followed up many promising leads but all had proved futile. The hope of a successful issue was growing faint when one day one of the engineers was kicked by a vicious horse, and was picked up for dead by the Indians who accompanied him. They carried his body with them to a distant and hitherto unknown valley, where the engineer recovered consciousness, and soon after, following up the river which flowed through it, he discovered the long sought for pass, and pass and river were named after the horse which had unconsciously rendered so great a service to civilization.

✓I have now made sufficient progress in my undertaking to make it evident to my own mind that, if my life and health are spared, I may look forward to the completion of my task in the not distant future. Until now I have not been able to see my way through to the conclusion with sufficient clearness of vision to permit me to avail myself of the help which my brethren at the front have it in their power to render, and which I have no doubt of their readiness, even in the midst of their

other pressing duties, to contribute if called upon. I should now, however, be glad to have suggestions or criticisms, either in regard to the treatment I have given the subject of Behaism itself or to that of any of the historical questions which I have brought forward in connection with it. In doing this I will welcome any suggestions, whether as to the introduction of new matter, the cutting out of the old, or as to changes in the form of presentation of the truth. It has been difficult to abbreviate the chapter on Behaism and Christianity without sacrificing more than was gained by brevity.

It is due, I think, to my readers that I explain how it comes that one so unfitted for the task as myself should be engaged in the preparation of a work of this character? It has grown out of a series of conversations I had with two ^Behai gentlemen in Hamadan, in the years 1904-05, and these conversations came about in this way: One of my medical friends in Hamadan who was a Behai, requested me to give him some instruction in the teachings of Christ, and I undertook to meet him and a few friends of his at stated times for that purpose. One day this gentleman's brother asked me to make a special appointment for a friend of his who wished to discuss with me the doctrines of ^Behaism. I told him that I had no qualifications for such a discussion, that my training was medical, not theological, and that one or another of my ministerial associates would be more satisfactory to his friend. He did not accept this and his request was repeated several times before I consented to see the Behai missionary, for so he proved to be. We had a very pleasant interview, and another appointment was made, and out of this grew a series of discussions which awakened in my mind a deep interest in the subject. I however declined to engage in metaphysical discussions of religious questions, and it was agreed between us that the range of topics should be restricted to the testimony of the

Old and the New Testaments to the claims of Baha Ullah, and to the validity of the Bahai interpretation of that testimony. After awhile my Bahai friend brought with him an associate in his missionary work, and later the first one made a visit to headquarters at Haifa, leaving the other to continue the discussions. The latter afterwards published a book on the proofs of Bahaism, entitled "Istidkaliyeh".

The discussions were always carried on in an irenic spirit on both sides, and I never had to complain of any lack of courtesy on their part. Notwithstanding the limitation of range of the discussions, I acquired a good deal of information in regard to the doctrines of Bahaism from these gentlemen, who were both well informed and skillful controversialists. At that time there was very little, if anything published in English on Bahaism, though Professor Browne had made us fairly well acquainted with Babism. The latter, a stage in the development of Bahaism which had accomplished its mission, ~~and~~ had now, with the Bahais, ^{scarcely} ~~still~~ more than a historical interest. Facilities for the study of Bahaism as developed along lines of modern philosophic and theosophic speculation, are now much better than they were four or five years ago. In addition to Browne's other books, "A Year Amongst the Persians," "Episode of the Bab", and "A New History of the Bab", he has published a "Literary History of Persia", which comes down only to the time of Firdausi, but which gives much information in regard to the "Ghulat", or "Immoderate Shi'ahs", including the various sects of the "Ismaili", the source of Babism, Ibrahim Khairallah has published a life of Baha Ullah, and an exposition of his teachings, and Myron H. Phelps has rendered a like service for Abbas Effendi. Ali Kuli Khan has published translations of the "Hujaju'l-Beheyeh", and the "Ighan", and an important work has just been published by Kegan Paul, London,

"Some Answered Questions" (An-Nuru'l-Abha fi Mufayadat Abdul Baha), collected and translated from the Persian of Abdul Baha by Laura Clifford Barney. A series of "Tablets" have been published in English, being translations of letters of Abbas Effendi, expositions, &c. and bearing on the outside the mystic number "9". I am indebted to the courtesy of Rev. P. Z. Easton for an opportunity of copying some of these, which had been loaned him by a friend. There is an article on Bahaism by Paul Carus, in the "Open Court", Chicago, 1904, with a reply in the next number, by Arthur Pillsbury Dodge, a prominent Bahai convert. There are two articles by ^{the} Rev. S. G. Wilson, D.D., in "The Missionary Review" of February 1904, and one by Rev. J. H. Shedd, D.D. in the same journal in December 1904, that I have yet seen, and a chapter on "The Religion of the Bab" in Mr. Robert E. Speer's valuable series of lectures on "Missions and Modern History", the latter being the most comprehensive treatment of the cult from the outside. Various articles of less moment have been published in the periodicals of the day. Browne has an article in Swan Sonnenschein's "Religious Systems of the World", London, 1901, which is disappointing, being almost wholly an account of the Bābīs. Canon Sell has published a little pamphlet on Babism, which is instructive.

Translations of portions of the book "Istidlalyeh", written by Aga Meyer of Hamadam, have been kindly furnished me by my former pupils, Dr. Musa Jacob, and Dr. Daniel Khan, of Hamadan. To the able assistance of the two latter gentlemen in the discussions with my Bahai friends, and to the information supplied by them on frequent occasions, I am very deeply indebted.

As shown above, my special relation to Bahaism in Hamadan was rather crowded upon me than sought by myself. The writing of the projected book

is a task that I would gladly have relinquished to some one else better qualified for such a duty. I have three reasons for attempting it: first, that no one else has undertaken it, second, that it has presented itself to me as a call of duty, and third, the hope that its adequate treatment of the subject will stimulate some one else to make a worthier contribution to meet the emergency.

The plan of the work takes into consideration the fact that Baháism appeals strongly to the Jews as well as the Moslems of Western Asia, and that in its latest developments it approximates more closely to modern theosophy than to any other of the pantheistic systems of the east or the west. It is this feature which gives it its vogue in this country. A brief sketch is given of primitive revelation up to the Call of Abraham, and of the development of the Messianic hope from the Protevangelium to John the Baptist. The struggle for existence of monotheism in a world wholly given over to idolatry is depicted, with its vicissitudes. The apostasy of Israel, the prophetic warnings, and the utter destruction of the northern kingdom are depicted. The trial of faith of the prophets is shown in the apparent irreconcilability of the covenanted promises of the Messiah with the dispersal of Israel and the announced and approaching doom of Judah. But they saw a remnant, a holy seed to be spared and restored to their own land. The transformation of a nation was witnessed during the Captivity, the Jews as a nation being forever cured of idolatry. In Babylon the Hebrews come in contact with a new People, the Persians, and a new religion, Zoroastrianism. The promise to Noah that Japheth should be enlarged, and that he should dwell in the tents of Shem is considered. The theistic religions of the world are shown to be all of Semitic origin. Cyrus the founder of the first Aryan world monarchy, is sketched, with an account of the Aryans in their ancestral home and their migrations, and of the Persians.

The development of the Messianic hope, the "Hedge of the Law", the growth of Rabbinism, traditionalism, allegorical and symbolic systems of interpretation by which the plain and obvious meaning of the Scriptures was perverted, is traced, together with an account of Philo and the Alexandrians and their attempt to reconcile the Old Testament with Greek pantheistic philosophy. The theory of the Bahais that the rejection of the Messiah by the Jews was due to their literal reading of the prophecies is shown to be without a substantial foundation, only one class of prophecies, those relating to His kingship, requiring spiritual interpretation, until after His crucifixion. All the rest were fulfilled literally. It was, on the contrary, the spiritual blindness caused by their false and fanciful interpretations of prophecy that made it impossible for the Jews to recognize their Messiah when he came.

A Chapter is devoted to an account of the pantheistic conceptions of God and man of the Aryan races of the east and west, the greater emphasis being laid on those features of these philosophies which are conspicuous in Bahaism, Sufiism, and Ismailism. No attention is called to these features as of similarities till they are introduced in the chapter on Bahaism and Christianity. These ^{offering} doctrines include the impersonality of God, the self-existence of matter (considered as of the same substance as God), denial of the persistence of the personal identity of the soul, multiple incarnations of the Divine Essence, reincarnations of the "karma", or residue of the previous personality in another earthly body, transmigration into the bodies of the lower animals (this doctrine the Behais repudiate, though it is held by some of them), asceticism as a means of quenching desire and thus limiting re-incarnation, gaining knowledge, and bringing about absorption in the essence through the extinguishment of self. (The latter applied more definitely to the doctrines of the Sufis than to Bahaism, but it illustrates an implicit, if not clearly taught doctrine of Bahaism).

A chapter is devoted to the subject of "Theism", in which the doctrines common to Christianity, Judaism and Islam are considered. The doctrines of Christianity are briefly treated in another chapter, and then the struggle for existence of Christianity with polytheism, and its conflict with, and triumph over pantheism in its manifold forms of Greek philosophies, Neo-Platonism, Gnosticism, &c. the two latter being attempts to combine Christianity with pantheism and Judaism in one universal religion, as Bahaism is now endeavoring to do. Theosophy as a more recent development of pantheism, appearing in the Kabbalistic formulas of the middle ages, and reaching back to post exilic times; in the speculations of Spinoza, and the mysticism of Boehme, and in its late manifestations in the teachings of Madame Blavatsky, Annie Besant, and the Buddhistic recrudescence of the present time, and its missionary efforts in the West, are treated to some extent in this connection. Evolution as a necessary cosmical process, monism, and hylozoism^{m(e)} doctrine probably borrowed from the Stoics, but finding some support in the rather sensational address on consciousness in plants of Francis Darwin, as President of the British Association, this ~~present~~ month of September, 1908, is described.

In the chapter on Islam a character sketch is given of Abraham, and the fourfold promise made to him, viz., that his name should be made great, that his children should be as the sands of the sea for multitude, that in Isaac should all the families of the earth be blessed, and that Ishmael should become a great nation. I have attempted to show that none of these promises was fulfilled for nearly two thousand years, that now they have all been fulfilled, or are in evident process of fulfillment, that the rise of Islam was not an accident, nor was Ishmael merely a scourge employed by the Lord to chasten his people, as in the case of Babylon.

The preservation of Ishmael by the direct interposition of the Almighty, and the promise made to Abraham concerning him, show to my mind that he was to be allotted, in the divine purpose, a definite part in the fulfillment of the covenanted promise to Abraham. Ishmael's part in that great consummation has been an unconscious one, but none the less effective. *I* I try to show that the greatly vaunted triumph of the Church in the conversion of Constantine marked rather the beginning of her decline, and that, by the end of the seventh century, she had become so corrupted by the god of this world, in lust for power, in sacerdotalism, and especially in compromises with pantheism and polytheism, (through the influence of New Platonism, Gnosticism, theosophy, Mariolatry, the apotheosis of the saints, the worship of images, the introduction of pagan rites, festivals, &c.) that she was wholly unprepared to enter the lists in a conflict with the pantheism of the east, ^{which} ~~as~~ she had in the days of her earlier and purer faith met and overthrown. But her Great Commission was still recognized as of binding force, and her missionaries, having gone forth to all the peoples of the west, were gradually working their way to India, to beard the lion of pantheism in his den.

The outcome of a general movement of Christian propagandism in that direction, under the then existing conditions, must have been the further corruption, and perhaps the extinguishment of the light of Christianity in the fogs and illusions of Hinduism. As Brahmanism swallowed up its daughter Buddhism, by first insalivating her with compromises, after she had grown greater than her mother, so she would, by like measures have swallowed up Christianity, making of it a thing altogether like unto itself.

It was the divine mission of Islam to avert such a catastrophe, and, by interposing a wedge of steel between the east and the west, to arrest all Christian propaganda in that direction till the church should ^{rise} ~~raise~~ from the dust, and putting on her beautiful garments of faith, hope and love, should

publish good tidings of good to the east as to the west. The Church of Christ may well say to the sons of Ishmael, in the words of Joseph to his brethren, "As for you, ye thought evil against me, but God meant it unto good, to bring to pass, as it is this day, to save much people alive." Ishmael sought to strike at the life of Isaac ; he succeeded only in cutting off with the sword his brother's gangrened arm, infected by the poisoned arrows of a common enemy, and in taking the other's place, he received in his own body the shafts aimed at the son of promise. But shall not Ishmael be rewarded and be brought to the light?

✓An attempt is made to show that the pantheistic spirit with which Christianity contended from without was with Islam a foe within the citadel; that great hordes of people of polytheistic and pantheistic thought and habit of mind were swept into the fold of Islam by conquest, whose outward conformity to the new faith interfered very little with their cherishing in secret their old beliefs and preserving many of their old practices. Islam thus became early permeated with secret pantheism.

✓I endeavor to show that the doctrine of the personal unity and the omnipotence of God, a creed proclaimed with such fervor by the followers of the Prophet, was a doctrine which must have proved peculiarly attractive to the Persians at the time of the conquest by Omar.

✓The utter collapse of the state religion on the overthrow of the Persian Monarchy could never have occurred had there been preserved, in the hearts of of the people, a strong faith in its teachings. The Persians were not satisfied with the results of their efforts to overcome sin with the aid of a God who was good, but not omnipotent. They were already prepared, through the teachings of Christian missionaries, to accept a theistic religion not an omnipotent God. They therefore welcomed in Islam a religion that supplied so convincingly the need they recognized in their own religion. I note also the blotting out of Mithraism throughout the Roman Empire, by Christianity,

due to a like cause, though through peaceful methods.

¶ An endeavor to show that the Mohammedan doctrine of God, far from being an evolutionary development of the Christian doctrine, as said by Baha, is rather a reversion to type, falling, as it does, behind that of Judaism in several particulars. The doctrine of the Trinity is thought to be adumbrated in Judaism in the doctrine of the Logos unconsciously acknowledged in Islam in the title of Spirit of God attributed to Christ, and some misconceptions in the minds of Mohammedans in regard to the doctrine of the Trinity are mentioned.

¶ In Shiahism is manifested a groping after the Trinity as a need of the soul, in the doctrine of Imamat, the invisible Imam, and the tendency to endow "manifestations" of the Imam with divine attributes, particularly in the case of Ali.

¶ A somewhat extended account is given of the various phases of this doctrine as developed in the teachings of the Ismaili, viz., the doctrine of "Manifestations and Occultations", combined as it was, with much of pantheism, as in the dogmas of "re-incarnation", "return" of the Imam, "transference of divinity", &c. A common feature of the various Ismaili movements is shown to be the idea of establishing a universal religion through the combination in one cult of the most characteristic doctrines of the principal existing religions. This feature is illustrated in what is said of the combined worship of Baal and Jehovah in Israel and in the Hindu absorption of Buddhism and the ^{Dravidian} ~~Benilian~~ cults of India. Another feature of Ismailism is the inevitable appeal to the sword, a temptation which few of its leaders were able to resist. Their followers were ready to concede to them divine authority released from all sense of human responsibility and thought and most of them revelled in bloodshed. Christ was more consistent. In emptying Himself he laid down secular authority as well as divine majesty. To one who came to Him as to a secular ruler He said,

"Man who made me a ruler or a judge over you." A theory of God which is capable in the hands of imposters, of working such harm to society is not likely to be a correct one, while a false Christ who should attempt to imitate Christ's own example might easily make himself ridiculous but could do no harm to society.

Sufiism differs from Bahaism in the fact that the allegiance of the devotee is to the "murshid" of his particular order, and not to any central authority, or incarnated deity; in the doctrine of the "path" of the devotee; in the cult, by the Sufis of "ecstasy", induced by ascetic practices, for the extinction of "self" and the attainment of communion with God in the theory of "illusion"; and in the doctrine of an inward light as the only method of revelation. But in the essentials of their philosophy they are alike. In their conception of the nature and the moral character of God, in their denial of personal immortality, and their doctrines of re-incarnation and the absorption of the soul of God, they are in essential harmony with Hinduism. Sufiism has become so inwrought in the whole texture of Persian thought through the writings of the great galaxy of Sufi poets, that considerable space is given to an account of this cult.

Some reference is made to Sheikhism, as a transitional stage from Ismailism to Babism; a brief historical sketch is given of the latter, and of the assumption by Baha Ullah of the role of a "Manifestation."

An account is given of the characteristic doctrine of Bahaism, viz., the doctrine of an impersonal essence as the one universal substance constituting God and nature. "Nature" derived from God as an emanation of matter even in its grossest form as universal mineral His own substance, which, being still divine, is endowed with life, as taught by Zeno, the Stoic, and by the modern Monists. As in the philosophy of the Sufi, the Gnostics, etc., the return journey back to God is accomplished through the transformation of mineral into vegetable matter, then into animal and then into mind and spirit in higher and higher order till eventually spirit becomes re-united with God. The method of this approach to God is that of evolution

as demonstrated by modern science. The successful issue of the journey depends upon individual effort, wisely directed and reinforced by the immanent forces of the Universal Life. But in the struggle for existence this guidance is given impersonally, as nature distributes her favors, and no allowance is made for weakness or imperfection. The survival of the fittest, the extinction of the unfit, is the Bahai way of salvation.

Bahais in company with the theistic religions, accepts the doctrine of a special revelation of God to man, made through the medium of prophets and apostles, and in the person of Jesus Christ, the Son of God. The Bahais' conception of revelation is, however, one with their conception of human personality. It is one mode of the universal expression of the existence of the life-giving essence, a cosmical process rising and falling like the tide, and like the flood-tide alternately advancing and retreating, yet all the time rising higher till its cycle is completed. To the neophyte this process culminated in Baha Ullah, in whom the mystery of God, announced by the trumpet of the seventh angel of Revelation should be finished. He is the supreme final manifestation of the Almighty Father in Himself, the seventh and concluding Dispensation of the series of which those of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Mohammed were the preparatory stages.

But Baha Ullah passes, and the neophyte sees Abdul Baha, the son after the flesh, assuming all the authority and dignity of his father, and then he learns that, to pantheistic speculation, there is no finality in anything, that all being is becoming, that God Himself has His periods and His cycles of change. "The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done is that which shall be done; and there is no new thing under the sun." Baha Ullah "interprets" the sacred books of all religions, and makes them thus bear witness to himself. But Behaism must itself in its

every feature be interpreted in the light of pantheistic philosophy if its true character is to be understood. Thus interpreted (and it is only fairness to allow it to explain its parts by its own standards), it is found to be consistent with itself, if not with God's order in nature and in grace.

The fundamental doctrines of Bahaism are, first, that the Deity is an impersonal essence, that is, that He does not possess the personal attributes, will, reason, and desire, these being finite qualities, and pertaining to God only as He manifested Himself through them in finite creatures. Man cannot know God, for an essence is wholly unknown and unknowable to finite intelligence, and man has no faculties by which it is possible for him to know God. All that man can know of God is God as He is revealed in his "Manifestation." This last has a familiar sound to the ear of the Christian. It appears to correspond to the Christian doctrine that the Father is revealed only in Christ. The fallacious character of this likeness will appear further on.

Bahaism constantly appeals to the Christian Scriptures as a witness to its truth, and it professes to accept Christ as the Son of God, the Messiah foretold by the prophets, and Saviour of the world from sin. But the Bible is to Behai a cryptogram, a mystery of God, whose meaning is hidden till the mystery is unravelled. To the "Manifestation" is given the key. He is at the same time the Writer and the Revealer. He, when he appears, recognizes in the writing of the prophets anything that pertains to himself, no matter how skillfully it may be concealed in words of difference signification, he discovers symbols and allusions to himself in the most commonplace statements, and he interprets their hidden signi-

fication. He formulated a system of interpretation for the use of his followers, and this is a science that is eagerly studied by those who would be wise unto salvation. This would seem to be based largely, as are so many other such systems, on the numerical values of letters as rated by the Hebrews, on the Pythagorean conception of numbers having values mathematical, physical, and ethical, and on the Kabbalistic formulas of the theosophists. A brief account of the kabbala, with specimen Atbash and Ayak Bekhar alphabets is given in the chapter on ^εthosophy. These, with the rules of the Gematria, the Notarikon, the Temurah (permutation), &c. furnish an absolutely inexhaustible means of finding the desired interpretation of any text. But, should all these fail, there still remains an appeal to the exegetical authority of the "Manifestation." His decision on a disputed rendering is final, for "who that cavilleth will contend with the Almighty?" In the chapter on Rabbinical and Philonistic methods, the facility with which the Scriptures may be made void in this way is pointed out.

The constitution of the human mind and the nature of language as a symbolism devised to give expression to thought are shown to make impossible the communication to man of an absolute and perfectly literal revelation such as the Koran is held to be by the Moslem doctors. But, on the other hand, a revelation that can be made to assume as many different disguises as the fabled Proteus does equal violence to the laws of our being, and cannot be acceptable either to reason or to faith.

Progress in revelation is another fundamental doctrine of Behaism. On this it rests its doctrine of successive dispensations culminating in Beha Ullah. The term, however, has to the Bahai a wider signification than this. To him it means also a progressive endowment of divine power and authority on individuals, by virtue of which the same person, if a "Manifestation", may appear successively in very different characters. This would permit the Bab, for instance, to be first a murid, then a murshid, then the Bab, then "Zikr"

(or reminder) then the Nukhta, or "point of revelation", then, had he lived, to become himself "Him whom God shall manifest", whose coming he proclaimed to his disciples. It seems very probable that he expected to appear later as the "Manifestation" of whom he had himself become the herald. If so, there was in this expectation nothing inconsistent with Babi or Bahai doctrines, Baha Ullah himself having, as disciple or assistant, served under, and acknowledged the divine authority, both of the Bab and of Sobh-i-Ezel before announcing his own mission. It is even taught that divinity may be taken away from one or given to another, as was illustrated by the assumption at one time by Mullah Hosein or Bushraweyh of the rank of "Bab", Mirza Ali Mohammed becoming the "Babu'l-Bab", or gate of the gate during that time and later resuming his prior office of Bab.

Certainly progress in revelation is a Christian doctrine, but the Scriptural record, and even the testimony of every day facts, needs to be entirely discredited if the Bahai theory of the seven successively advanced dispensations is sustained. Progress in revelation is shown in the indefinite promise of Eve of the Coming One who should bruise the head of the serpent; in the focalization of the promise to the sons of Noah and the family of Shem; in the covenanted promise to one of the sons of Shem, to Abraham, to his son Isaac, his grandson Jacob and his great grandson Judah. Moses came of the house of Levi, and was not in the line of promise himself. He foretold, however, that the prophet who should come would be like himself, and would be raised up from among the "brethren" of the Hebrews. Moses' instructions about choosing a king, given on the same occasion, employed, according to Deuteronomy, the same term to designate the Hebrews themselves. If the term "from among your brethren" meant the sons of Ishmail, as some Mohammedan doctors contend, then Moses intended that the Hebrews should choose their king out of the Ishmaelites, a procedure which even Moses's authority could hardly have brought about.

Progress is also shown in the increasing clearness of revelation in regard to the unity of God, and to his character, and his differentiation from his works of creation from the time of Adam to Abraham, and from Abraham to Moses and the prophets. The Law was a schoolmaster to bring the Jews progressively to Christ, in whom it was fulfilled. Christ alone of all the "Prophets of Dispensations", before Baha, recognized His Messianic character. Adam did not know that he was divine, and he was far enough from being godlike in his character. A Messiah may be tempted, but a true Messiah does not yield to temptation as did Adam, with the consequences which we all too well know. Neither, Noah, nor Abraham, nor Moses, nor Mohammed had any consciousness of the character attributed to them by Beha. Christ alone was conscious of being God. We here find progress from Adam to Christ, but no intermediate progress and no progress afterward. Baha Ullah has made claim to a higher title than does Christ. But unless the claim be accredited by a revelation of higher character it falls to the ground. We shall inquire now how he meets the test.

Baha Ullah teaches that God is an impersonal essence, i.e., he denies to him the personal attributes of love, reason, and will, the personal attributes of consciousness and character. What one of our fellow creatures would we care to know, much less to pattern after, who was devoid of these qualities, who could only be described by saying what he was not? Baha teaches that it is only through the "Manifestation" that anything whatever can be known about the essence of God. Well, can the Christian know anything about the Father except through Christ? It looks to the neophyte like the same doctrine, only carried a step higher. But Baha Ullah, according to his own teaching, is a finite person. He cannot be an infinite person. He is a finite manifestation of the essence, just as any of us are, only higher in quality and in wisdom; just as the trees of the forest are, but higher in endowment. He may have been the greatest and wisest of the

sons of men but he was a finite manifestation, not an infinite one. The knowledge of the transcendent God is an infinite knowledge, and, as Abbas Effendi teaches, cannot be communicated to a finite creature. There is, according to Bahai doctrine, no direct union between the divine essence, and a human personality. The finite is removed to an infinite degree from the infinite, and the void can only be filled by an infinite series of gradations of spirit, the illimitable series finally reaching in some way up to God. By such an endless chain must the inquirer who would know God through the "Manifestation" find Him.

Has the Christian believer any closer access to the transcendent Father in heaven? He has. Christ in His human relation is not the terminal factor in a chain with an infinite number of links reaching from the finite to the infinite. Christ is the Godman, the infinite God dwelling directly in perfect and complete union with man, not merely as the Son, as the Bahai philosophy conceives of him, but in a union which includes man in union with God, with Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, one God. There is a sense in which Christ is the Son, but it is not a sense which implies that there is any division of substance between the Son and the Father. But if man has no faculties by which he can apprehend the Father, the transcendent God, can the Christian, any more than the Bahai, know him directly. No man, it is quite true, can know the Father save through the mediation of Christ, but Christ mediates by imparting His own life to the believer, through the faith exercised by Him to receive it, and thus in Christ, by sharing in His divine life, the believer is brought into direct personal communion with the divine Father in heaven.

The Bahai doctrine of man deprives him of his immortal soul, of his personal identity after death. There is much of mistiness about the Bahai doctrine of immortality. This is not because the founder of the

religion was not capable of clear thinking, but because he has chosen to enter a region of speculation where the keenest intellects the world has produced have always, necessarily become befogged. Baha teaches that the soul is immortal, but that the personality is not. The soul continues to live after death, but the various attributes which constitute its personality are dissociated, and either go to merge with the common fund, or they are re-combined in other forms. By the common fund is not meant the transcendent essence, but the various strata of differentiated essence which have not been individual in spirit, in man, in animal, vegetable, or mineral life.

One of the tablets, entitled, "Table talks with Abdul-Beha-Abbas, regarding Re-incarnation, Mystery of Self-sacrifice, &c!", Published by the Board of Counsel, 707-708 Carnegie Hall, New York, April, 1901, has a diagram illustrating "The Cycle of Man." It represents a square, at the upper part of which is a sun with his rays radiating in all directions. At the lower part of the square is a sphere representing man, and the two spheres are connected by a circle passing through the center of each. The circle is filled with rays proceeding from the sun to the periphery of the circle, and these are designated "Holy Spirit." Strung on this circle, between God and man, on the left side, are three spheres, the one nearest the sun being "mineral" matter, the next "vegetable" and the third "animal". All outside the circle and the spheres on the left is shaded, and represents darkness. Between God and man on the circle on the right is represented a series of twelve interlinking circles, each growing larger as it approaches God. These are designated "Spiritual degrees, number infinite", and the last one, linking into the sphere of God, is marked "Highest possible attainments". All outside the circle on the right represents light. The description of the diagram is as follows:

As the world travels in a circle, so also human beings work out their lives in cycles. ~~The illustration represents the cycle of man.~~ Every existence is created by the Infinite Essence. Man begins with God, and first reaches the mineral condition or kingdom, as we will say, which is only matter, but contains a latent power of God. Then he reaches the condition of the vegetable kingdom, which is matter, and also has the power of growth, which the mineral kingdom has not. Then he progresses to the condition of the animal kingdom, which has the power of the mineral and vegetable kingdoms, with a third power added—that of sensation (the five senses). At birth he enters the human kingdom. This progression is simply by the power of God. Souls are not created independently of the body. The seed of the child grows by the power of God into the human being, just as the seed of the tree grows into the tree by the power of the sun. God is the Real Sun. The human being has the powers of all the other conditions, and has reached the point opposite and farthest from God; has passed through all the conditions of the material side of the circle by the hidden power of God. The first or descending scale is the natural or material one. The second or ascending scale is the spiritual. The first half is the night; the second is the day. The world is the greatest distance from God, but the rays of God upon it are direct ones. The world is the darkest, but it is always so before the dawn, and the ascending scale begins the day. The world is the worst condition for the soul if it remains in it, for it is farthest from God. It is in a worse condition than if it were

in the condition of the ~~MMMM~~ mineral, vegetable or animal kingdoms, for it is farthest away from God. But if man wants the light, he gets it stronger and in more direct rays, as the other conditions receive but the slanting rays of the Holy Spirit. If he does not desire light, his condition is worse than all others. So the Manifestations of God are always in the human form, because the Sun shines directly on it, and it receives the full power of God. The soul starts from God, and if it enters the spiritual world, it returns to God. There are three births: first, the material; second, to be born of water; third to be born of the spirit. When man first enters the spiritual world he is born of water or the truth and knowledge of God. He must become as a little child-unworldly, without jealousy, enmity, covetousness, love of money, etc. To be born of the Spirit is to give up all material desires, and to take on all the qualities of God, and begin to ascend the other half of the circle. The spiritual half has an indefinite number of conditions, always progressing upwards. It is possible in one step to leave the lowest and enter the highest condition. The Blessed Perfection said that all believers will go direct to God, but that all will not be in the same condition: each has his own condition according to spiritual progress. When we die, we can see those in the same condition that we are, and we can see and understand those in a lower condition, but we cannot comprehend those above us.

If a soul makes the ~~MMMM~~ circle, will he return and make it again? Will he come back to the condition of the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms again? That would not be possible, but the same spirit can return. Each nation has expected a reincarnation of its greatest prophet, according to its religious belief. The Jews expected Moses to return as their Messiah; the Christians expected Jesus; the Mohammedans, Huseyn, the son of 'Atima, with his twelve Imams. That is, they expected the return.

of the soul in its personality. When Christ was asked if John the Baptist was Elias He replied "yes." When John the Baptist was asked the same question he replied "no." Both answered truly. Christ's meaning was a spiritual one. John the Baptist came in the same spirit of God, but not in the same soul. John meant that his soul and body were not those of Elias.

Every human being has two parts-the body and the soul. Neither the body nor the soul will return to this world, but the spirit of God in them may come again, and is the same in all prophets. The difference is in degree. The same spirit speaks in our Lord that spoke in Christ. All the prophets of God were manifestations of God. Moses, Jesus, Mohammed and the Tab were the four greatest prophets, because they reflected the Light of God in a greater degree than any of the others, and they left books to guide the people in the way of God. Suppose the mirror represents the prophets, and the Sun represents God, and the Sun's rays the Holy Spirit. The mirror of Adam was dull, for the people of the world were not sufficiently advanced at that time to receive more light than the mirror of Adam sent forth; therefore God reflected the light upon a dull glass. The mirror of Moses was much brighter, so that it could receive more of the Sun's rays, and give back to the people a greater brilliancy, for the people of Moses were more advanced than the people of Adam. The mirror of Jesus was entirely clear, so that it received the full Light ^{from} the Sun and was, therefore, the Sun itself, and this was what Jesus meant when He said "I and the Father are one." But when the Manifestation of God Himself came, He was like a magnifying glass. He not only, like Jesus, received all the Light from the Sun and gave it back again to the people, but He took the heat also and gave that out. The Blessed Perfection was like a fine glass filled with wine; it was so perfect that no glass could be seen only the wine shone forth. So the Manifestation was such a fine and perfect vehicle for the Light that only the Spirit of God was noticed.

✓The return path from man to God, from ignorance to "knowledge" of the essence, which effects absorption in the essence, is a yet illimitable journey, beset with many troubles, and demanding many re-incarnations before the remnant of the person combined with the remnant of various other persons reaches the goal.

✓The sinner might take comfort in the thought that as the person who committed the sins was no longer an entire person, his sins could not be punished without involving the innocent in the penalty, and so he must go free. But could one imagine a worse fate here on earth than to have nine tenths say, of one's moral character distributed about among his neighbors, and to receive in return an equivalent contribution from them. Is not the doctrine of transmigration as a whole, even into the body of a lower animal, which is so abhorrent to the mind of the Bahai, preferable to this?

✓The Bahai doctrine of God fails here to furnish the desired evidence of advance in revelation. Its doctrine of man leaves him a mutilated creature, "scarce half made up", and with the immediate future of his life after death involved in the most distressing uncertainty. In place also of the Godman as the ideal man, it gives us the conception of a man wholly infinite, but filled with divinity as the cup, dipped into the sea, is filled with water. The cup and the water are wholly distinct and separate, there is no union, there is only contiguity.

✓But if the immediate future of the soul is dark and forbidding is it not compensated for that in the final attainment of its goal? If it becomes God is not that the highest possible conception of immortality? The individual man lays down his individual consciousness and takes upon himself the universal consciousness. In knowledge, in glory, in capacity for enjoyment, he is God. Surely as a conception this must be a state of greater blessedness than is found in the individual immortality of the Christian.

Again we are getting into the mist. In the first place let us inquire whether God exists for the sake of man or does man exist for the sake of God? The Bahai will say that man exists for the sake of God, but man is temporarily separated from God, and cannot be supremely blest till he is re-united with him. He knows that the consciousness of the individual man, as compared with the consciousness of God is as zero to infinity, or, to bring it within our mental vision, as the dew drop to the ocean that encircles the world. How much does the ocean gain when the dew drop is united to its mass? How much does the dew drop gain by being extinguished in the immensity of the ocean? As a dew drop it possessed an exquisite beauty to gladden the eye of the beholder, and cause him to lift up his heart in thankfulness to its creator, and it had utility in ministering to the stem on which it was suspended, and to which it gave life and freshness and a sweetness of its own. Merged in the sea it was lost and dissipated in the immensities to which it contributed nothing, and, since it had lost its own identity, from which it could receive nothing. The Buddhist is nearer the mark. It is not increased consciousness that he is seeking for, it is the extinction of consciousness. And he is right in expecting practical extinction as a result of absorption, whether it be in the divine essence or in Nirvana.

But what is all this talk about consciousness if the essence has no consciousness? It means that an unconscious God, a God without attributes is inconceivable, even by the pantheist. For while he is denying consciousness to God, he is at the same time hoping to amplify to infinitude his own consciousness through union with God. If he really does conceive of an unconscious something as a reality with which he hopes to be merged, as does the Buddhist, he does not think of it as God at all, he thinks of it as being the next thing to nothing, and to become nothing is the fate

he desires for himself.

✓The Christian has a totally different conception of the relations of God to man. God does not exist that man shall be glorified, but man exists that he may glorify God and enjoy God, not glorify himself in God, forever. It was because of pride that the angels fell; it was because he exalted himself rather than God, that Lucifer, Son of the Morning, was cast down from Heaven. Whether it be by insisting on God's taking back the life which he graciously gave, or whether it be with the curious idea that the soul that is merged in God becomes God, - as if the dew drop should take up all the ocean into itself, the underlying thought in this conception is directed first to the interests of self, and only secondarily to the glory of God.

✓Bahaism plainly shows no advance over Christianity in its conception of God, of man, or of immortality, even as a speculative idea. In its conception of God manifest in the flesh it fails altogether to approach the position of the Christian. Abbas Effendi teaches explicitly that God is unknowable, because man has no faculties by which he can know Him. Who is it then that the pilgrim sees when he makes the long journey to Haifa, and looks into the face of Abbas Effendi? Who was it that he saw at Acca when he looked upon Baha Ullah? He did not see God, for God cannot be seen by the eye of flesh. Was the voice of the "Manifestation" God's voice? No. Were the words that were spoken by him, or the thoughts to which he gave expression the words or the thoughts of God? No, for the voice was heard by human ears, and the thoughts were expressed to human understandings. These cannot know God according to Baha. "No", says the pilgrim, "these were not God, but there was a Presence, which I recognized as God's presence. There was majesty, and grace, and glory, and authority, there was love, and peace, and compassion, and benignity,

there was an atmosphere of spirituality that inspired all whom it enveloped with high aspirations and holy thoughts, an irresistible compulsion which made us all worship at his feet." "But none of these things could be God, for Abbas Effendi will tell you that man has no faculties by which he can know God.

"It is only in the things that are absolutely unknown and unknowable that God is. God may be present in the things you do not see, nor hear, nor think about, but if it is anything you can recognize by your senses, or that you can grasp by your understanding, or that is able to stir your emotions that cannot be God. Nothing whatever that you find in the "Manifestation" is God, or in any way like God, because what you know of the "Manifestation" you know by your human faculties, and they cannot apprehend God."

"Not so does the Christian know his Father in Heaven. Not so does Christ teach us to think about him. "No man" John tells us, "hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him." Christ said to Philip, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." He said to Judas (not Iscariot), "If a man love me he will keep my words: and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him." The Father said to the disciples before whose faces Jesus was transfigured, "This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him." The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews says of him, "He is the brightness of the Father's glory, and the express image of his person." (Heb. 1:3) The Father sent his Son into the world that in him men might see the Father. We hear the Father say, "As you see Him to be, so you may know what I am; His character, as you see it displayed in His goings out and His comings in before you, is My character, His love is My love, His righteous, His truth, His purity,

His tenderness and loving-kindness, His longing for the hearts of men, His desire to take upon Himself their sin, and quench it in the out-pouring of His life on the cross, -in all these things He reveals ^{His} love, in all these things He that hath seen Him hath seen the Father."

✓ No, Baha Ullah has brought forward no evidence in the way of a fuller revelation of God's attributes, to show that his assumption of a higher title than Jesus bore, is anything more than a name."

The reader will find in ^{(B the rough draft of} ~~the~~ Appendix ^{in Appendix C} one chapter of the book, "What is Bahaism," and also a paper written by Dr. Holmes in 1903 answering some questions with regard to Bahaism and Christianity, ~~but it will be well~~

Light and Shadow in a Great Soul

Already in Persia the ~~ebb~~ and flow of mystical religious experience were very noticeable in this great spirit. At times all would be color and sun^{light} and ~~bright~~^{rose} and at ^{other} times the shadow of depression and doubt would fall and he would move through a night of self-depreciation and abject humility. When he returned to America and was unable to resume active work, the mind had more time to turn in upon itself. For long seasons all would be bright and his gentle geniality of mood and joyous laughter would make every society in which he was found happier and richer for his presence. And then, for long seasons the clouds hung heavy on his mind and spirit, though even then he bravely sought to bear his burden alone and to cast no gloom on others. For all these years, however, he wrote continuously to one friend whom he loved and who loved him, and though all this correspondence was sacredly confidential while he lived it is felt to be right now to ^{share} show it, as revealing the depths of his religious life and thought and as helpful to others who may have in their own souls such struggles as he knew and by God's grace was enabled to transcend.

It is with a reverent step that ^{those who} ~~the~~ reader should enter this holy place.

Hamadan, Dec. 22, 1898

I have been greatly blessed and honored of God in being permitted to come back to Persia. This I have felt all along. But on the way I had the proof of it and that

it was the Lord who brought me back and so do I rejoice in my infirmities and glory in my weaknesses that the strength of Christ may rest upon me.✎

March 12, 1899

✎Once you suggested my "writing a book" with a view of seeking a solution of some of my spiritual difficulties. Thank God that is not necessary now for that purpose, but I am at work on a brief statement for the Jews with the view of making the Messiahship of Christ appear to them a reasonable doctrine, and in harmony with their own and their fathers' anticipations.

✎I think of taking the point of view of a pious Jew who is looking for the consolation of Israel, or rather one who is in entire sympathy with the Jew who looks for a Deliverer who shall gather the remnant of Israel and establish them in their own land, and their King upon the throne of his father David.

✎The idea of the work is to bring the testimony of the Old Testament to the Jew respecting the Messiah in such a guise as shall not at the outset arouse prejudice. With this in view I have thought of following up a line of argument I have often employed in conversation with them, which has appeared to disarm their prejudices and make them willing and desirous to hear more, viz. to identify the Messiah they are expecting with the Messiah we are expecting, leaving out of consideration for the time being the suffering Messiah,

and considering Him as the Son of David, the Coming One, in whom is fulfilled all that the prophets have spoken of His glory and power. Then I go on to show how that the whole history of the Hebrew people, their institutions, their laws, their temple service, their prophecies, have looked forward to this and lead up to this. I call attention to the continuity of purpose in the divine plan, so that although the temple was destroyed and the people led into captivity, yet the prophets remained, and their utterances grew clearer and more definite as the outward symbols of their worship were taken away. I note however a very strange and remarkable break in this continuity, that while for fourteen hundred years they had an almost ~~an~~ uninterrupted succession of theophanies, or of prophets and seers, for twenty three hundred years the^{se}~~x~~ have been dumb -- they, the most spiritual of all peoples of old, and unless it be the Greeks, the most intellectual, the chosen of God, with a literature such as no other nation could boast, with a record of miraculous interpositions wholly unique. Suddenly God withdrew Himself, suddenly these great singers' voices were silenced, suddenly the ringing utterances of the prophets ceased -- on what principle of interpretation of God's purposes can these things be accounted for?

I undertake then to show that there has been no such catastrophe in their history as would thus have to be accounted for; that they have not been forsaken, that they have not been left without witness of God, that they have

not been dumb, that the marvellous spiritual and intellectual power of the Jews rose to a height during that period of supposed silence, such as it had never before attained in their history, and has never before or since attained in the history of any other people.

I then call their attention to the fact that their Messiah was to be a suffering, as well as a Conquering Messiah - deal with their various theories about this and then ask what forbids their believing that the glorified Son of David whom they and all are looking for, is the same suffering Messiah whom as yet they have never been able to account for, and who can be no other than Jesus of Nazareth, who when he came they did not recognize and who also could not be accounted for on any other theory.

I would then endeavor to show how the whole mystery of the withdrawal of the Divine Presence is explained in Him, a Jew, who has shed more lustre on the Jewish name than all their patriarchs, prophets and Kings, and is in Himself the crowning proof that the Lord hath not cast away His people and that very promise made to them shall be fulfilled.

I would point out in its place the effort by the Pharisees and people to fulfill the law and thus insure the coming of the Messiah, asking them how they can hope to do so now completely under present circumstances when the Pharisee, with Priesthood, and Temple, and national organization so utterly failed, that they lost all that and everything else, but their inextinguishable hope in

the promises, which has preserved them from extinction as a race. Then I would show how mistaken was their effort at reformation, since they determined to reform from the outside, in utter violation of all that everyone of their prophets had taught them was the will of the Lord, that perhaps for this reason it was, that during the period while they were most assiduously building up the hedge of the law, and forgetting and refusing to think of the living spirit which alone could animate it, God withdrew from them His accus-messengers and prophets, and let them work out their plan of accomplishing a material salvation, the work of their own hands, until its inevitable result should be made manifest.

I would incidentally bring in all the arguments possible from Scripture against Islam and Bahaism, showing how the latter had taken hold of the Jews and how its falsehood was demonstrated by their own Scripture and the New Testament, but avoiding any mention of Islam by name, hoping to find many readers among Mussulmans in this way and thus as it were, through the medium of parables, to make them see the falsity of their own faith.

I would dwell on the 400 years interval between Malachi and Christ as the test of Phariseeism, of the works of the Law,- the outward form without the inward life. Before Malachi the prophets constantly reinforced the law by expounding its spirit. After Christ the Holy Spirit dwelling in the hearts of believers revealed Him constantly to them.

I have given you in the rough what is as yet but an imperfect conception and one which will probably take on a somewhat different shape as I proceed in developing it.

If you think the purpose a wise one I should be very glad for any suggestions should you have time to think it over. The idea is an outgrowth of my discussions with the Bahá's, and is primarily for the purpose of showing the Jews who are not already given over to the delusion that Baha is God, and therefore that any absurd interpretation he makes of the Scriptures must be true, ~~of showing them~~ how very far this Gnostic heresy diverges from the truth in its ultimate development as seen from afar by their own prophets.

Hamadan, June 21, 1899

Five times in my previous life - not counting my conversion, I have met the Lord -- twice in warning, twice in blessing, and once at Hissar on my way home from Tabriz, of which I have told you, in which I learned that I should be required to accept, or at least not refuse to accept, an appointment which would be tendered me by the Shah. I have learned through these things, and through a thousand other instances of a less pronounced character, in which I have felt sure that the course of my bark was directed by an unseen pilot, to feel that the line dividing the natural and the supernatural is an imaginary one and that all nature is supernatural and all the supernatural is perfectly natural, the only requirement being that we ourselves should become

properly adjusted to our environment in order to recognize and to appreciate it in whatever form it may appeal to us. So any vision is, I believe, in one sense supernatural and in another sense, quite natural. I have suffered from the usual reaction which seems inseparable from every advance I make in the spiritual life, but I have never doubted that the Lord Jesus graciously appeared to me on that occasion, and that He, in that wonderful and magnificent way, answered my prayer for direction. ¶ So far, I have got no further with my book than to make a rough draft of the scheme. It may be I shall never put it on paper, but I have been marvellously encouraged within the past month or two in the hope that it's purpose was being written on the hearts of the young men who have come under my influence in Hamadan. None of them know anything of the vision.

But I am in training by a better master than is found in books, even religious books, excepting always the Bible. Since that last only too short conversation I had with you on the life in the Spirit, your emphatic statement that to receive Christ was to receive all He had to give, has never lost its grip upon me, though the usual vacation came, during which I wrote you a letter in which my ignorance of experimental Christianity was abundantly displayed. My letter was not fairly in its way until I found reason to recant my statements in that letter, and now I am trying to make others believe the truth of what you said, as I have been convinced myself by the test of experience, since the beginning of this present month. Paul's declaration in Gal. 4; 6 that God has sent forth the Spirit of His Son into my heart

crying Abba Father ('dear Father') seems to me so much more tender an expression for one who does not know Syriac or Hebrew) to represent Himself there and to act for me in the petition and intercession which from my own lips seemed so constantly to fall on unwilling or heedless ears - the thought that I had no more to strive, no more to labor, but simply to yield myself to the Spirit of Jesus, whom the Father had sent to do for me this, which He knew I could not do for myself - this seems simple enough now, but never before had I been able to conceive of it except as an intellectual abstraction which was doubtless true, but of which I was wholly unable to get a real spiritual grasp. It may interest you to know that this quickened spiritual apprehension followed soon after the surrender of several things which had come to appear to me as coming under the head of doubtful things. The most difficult was to give up entirely the reading of secular newspapers, even of secular reading in the religious papers, even the reading of the telegraphic public news which we get weekly from Teheran. This did not come all at once. I yielded little by little. It was a hard pull, for from my childhood I had been deeply interested in political questions and in maturer life, in world politics, and now when it looks almost as if the axis of the world was about to be changed, to relegate one's self to a hermit cell is at least a transition. But for more than a month I have passed on newspapers and public news unopened, and I don't know whether we have beaten the Filipinos, whether Alger or Mills ^{has} ~~have~~ come out ahead, whether the Peace Conference has met, whether Russia and England have come to an agreement in China, whether Dreyfus is

adjudged to have the right of a fair trial or not, etc, etc. etc. except as I hear them casually mentioned by others.

You may say this is an extreme measure, perhaps savoring of fanaticism. But I think it is not. It is only when the eye offends that it is to be plucked out, and I am sure my sympathies entered too deeply into most of these burning questions of the day to avoid crowding out much that Christ was ready to put into its place were there vacant room there. It was not simply the time taken up in reading of these things, it was the currents of thought set in action by them which inhibited spiritual meditation. During this thirty days I have felt that probably the Lord had a great trial for me to undergo, and this unknown and ill defined portent has troubled me more than the things I could look upon and size up. Despite all efforts to commit my way unto the Lord, and to make Him Lord of everything, known and unknown, present and future, I have found it difficult to shake off the dread of impending evil which has haunted me. But this afternoon I think I have committed it all to the Lord, and that He has accepted it, and I have in consequence a great peace.

Hamadan, Sept. 14, 1899

~~I~~ I have long been expecting the fiery trial which was to try me, as made known at Varseh, Nov. 27, and I feel that this will work out the "far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory" promised to them that are thus exercised. //

Minneapolis, Feb. 24, 1900

My feet had almost gone, but thank God, I believe they have at last struck bottom, and are now planted firmly on the Rock. I am convinced that God has some great purpose hidden in these cataclysms in which He has, from time to time, visited me. But have I not prayed to be baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire, and shall I think it strange if the fiery trial comes as a spirit of judgment and a spirit of burning? During these past days I have felt that I had been swept through and through with a tempest of fire. The Hebrews came out of the furnace without the smell of fire upon their garments. I had no garments left, after the fire had done its work on me, nor anything left, without or within. I felt that I was like a new born babe, who had everything to learn from the beginning. And so I am trying patiently to follow the leadings of the Spirit, and be taught of Him, trusting Him to give me an understanding, and that through obedience to His Will I shall come to know Christ, in the knowledge of Whom is eternal life.

Do you happen to remember a sermon of Phillips Brooks on obedience to law, in which he shows how, in order to command any physical force, one must first understand and become obedient to the law of that force, and could you tell me where I can find it? Is it not true that to be led of the Spirit in one thing, demands entire submission to the Spirit's leadership in all things, and that with this submission comes power to do all that the Spirit sees that God has planned for us to do?

Annisquam, July 12, 1900

It is pretty nearly all over with me. It is doubtless psychological to a large extent, but it none the less unfits me for fellowship with God or man, and for helpfulness to those who need so much the help that I only could give. I must accept what God has seen fit to send to me of suffering. If only I could suffer alone,- but that I suppose is denied to all men. It has always appeared to me to be the hardest thing I could be called upon to do, to appear to have put my hand to the plow and turned back. I must now accept this - to appear before men as having denied Christ. Did He appear in the presence of the intelligencia to have denied the Father, when He uttered that despairing cry on the Cross? Pray for me, who cannot pray for myself.

Annisquam, Aug. 16, 1900

I have come to the conclusion that all my love of God in the past has had selfishness as its controlling motive, and that the Lord sees no other way to heal the malady but to sweep away the whole structure built upon so false a foundation, so that I may begin at last to build aright. But I cannot now expect to do more than lay the foundations of the new building, and must be content so far as the world and my fellow Christians are concerned to be looked upon as a heathen and a publican, as one who undertook to construct a large building and counted not the cost, as one who put his hand to the plow and turned back. But I have yet the hope that if my cluster adorn not the vine nor the table

yet that some of its berries may, crushed in the winepress, yield a little wine, or at least, some essence to flavor the good wine of other clusters.

Wellesley, Jan. 10, 1901

You have rendered me a service the greatest which it has ever been in the power of one man to pay to another, and I shall not attempt to thank you, for I can not do it adequately till we meet where words are not needed to express our thoughts. I have been trying to account for the effect produced by the few words you spoke while we waited at the station, for they were only such things as I was familiar with and such as I have spoken to others. Possibly the fact that I was in a despairing mood, and that all things in earth and heaven seemed to be against me, and to have the mastery of me, may have made me more receptive than usual, but my only way of accounting for it is that our Lord sent you here to speak to me, that through you I might receive the Holy Ghost. For I have long recognized the truth of Paul's saying, "No man can say, Jesus is Lord, but in the Holy Spirit."

I got little comfort for some time for I did not know how I could exercise my will any more strongly or more persistently than I had already done. I had indeed in this way found peace many times, but it was always the familiar words I said: "I am going to act on that promise, and to accept that I am righteous - right with Christ-- for that is what I have been praying for, and if these words are true I am already right with Him. I am going to act on that assumption whether or not I am conscious of any change either emotional or

dynamic." I recognized no change of any kind till Jan. 1st, when the sky began to break a little. Jan. 2nd, I began on the book which was evidently the duty that lay nearest at hand, Mirza Musa having sent me an abstract of Aga Meyer's work, and I have since put in all my spare time at this with great zest. And I have the witness of the Spirit that I am a Son of God!

I don't think it has been exactly a case of abdominal analysis though that has entered into the matter. But so far as I can understand it my sin has been in listening to the temptation with which Satan tried to deceive Christ, "If thou be the Son of God, assure thyself of the fact by exercising the power of the Son." I could not believe because I felt no consciousness of power, because with all my faith, stones refused to become bread, because the theory would not resolve itself into the fact. And I wandered forty and five years in the wilderness, because while I could believe the testimony of others that Christ desired to save me with a full salvation, I was unable to believe His own word that He had done so, - because I demanded other evidence than His own word. I think I have now struck the bed rock, and that my house will therefore not fall with the first flood that comes, as it has always done before.

Why is true faith so easy for some and so almost impossible to others? Surely I have tried to believe with all my heart for thirty years. And my life has become a monument of wasted effort during that time. But I am thankful for all that I have suffered

for myself during these years in which I have rolled the stone of Sisyphus ever up only to see it roll back crushing to ruin everything in its way, as often as the top was reached. But for the loss of others I grieve.

Wellesley, Mass. June 3, 1901

~~I~~ I have always looked for intellectual enlargement to come with spiritual freedom but this is not to be till the clearer vision comes. You gave me the lift to the mountain crest behind which I had all my life been groping, and the view opened up to my new vision is so transcendent that it sometimes dazzles me, and I see men (and things) as trees walking. But as I look behind I see that my whole ideal of service for Christ, ~~unto~~ to which ~~I~~ for thirty years I had sacrificed everything I have held dear, (except alas, the one thing I thought I was sacrificing - self) has been a false ideal, and that I have myself been saved as by fire, with the loss of all with which I have builded (wood, hay, stubble, all). I have learned that the pain, which I have ever longed to escape from, is yet to stay with me that I may gain the mastery over it, perhaps even to find my joy in it, as I am already finding joy in spite of it. So I am now beginning life as a little child, yet well knowing that there is not time left for developing atrophied faculties - atrophied from disuse - for service for my fellow men.

I see so clearly now, what I had at the time in part understood, a manifold meaning in the stunted spindling tree in the garden of Varseh, hardly to be recognized among the other fat and fruitful trees of the garden, and so scantily laden with indifferent fruit, and yet bearing fruit in which the Father and the Son

could take delight, and for which they were wont to resort to the garden, the fruit which had sprung from the ashes of one long past affliction to which I had never been reconciled, and in which all the fruit resulting had apparently been wrought in spite of all my resistance to the will of God in the matter. In the promise of the Lord, made with such a meaning look and smile, that he had other gardens to which one day he would take me. I at first understood another vision like the first, but soon I knew it meant more suffering, and now I know it meant through great suffering, more fruit bearing, even though the fruit be palatable to none but Christ. And so I am content, and grateful that the work begun before the foundation of the world, when I was chosen in Christ to be holy and without blemish before Him in truth, is by whatever means he has seen fit to bring it about, accomplished, and that I now truly believe.

Wellesley, Mass. July 1, 1901

✓ We have lately adopted the method in reading your "Studies" in the "Christian Endeavor world" of trying to identify the reference before looking them up. We find it adds much to the interest both in the cases where the text confirms and where it dissents from the opinion we had formed as a result of the suggestion in the "Studies." We in this way sometimes catch the light from a different angle than usual, sometimes its refraction through the cloud of our preconceived idea illuminates a previously dull and uninteresting text with prismatic color or spectral bands heightening the effect. We are going

to try studying "The Man Christ Jesus", in this way. The process is I suppose like that of reducing the light of the sun by a smoked glass, in viewing an eclipse, or rather of slowing the vibration of the ultra violet rays of the spectrum, by passing them through a solution of quinine. These rays which are thought to appear as light to the more delicately organized retinae of some of the lower animals, but all dark to ours, are translated into light rays for us by thus reducing their rate of vibration. Is it for this or a like reason, that the Holy Spirit usually exerts his influence on our hearts through the medium of one of our fellow men, rather than directly -- only those receiving of Him directly who are the elect, who are able to receive by reason of the more delicate adjustment of their spirits to His motions in them? I think so, and that this is why He sent ^{you} ~~me~~ to speak the word that loosed me and let me go, when my petition for deliverance from Himself in person so constantly found apparently a deaf ear. Now I find myself beginning to respond more directly to His touch, and am beginning to receive from Him for others, to find the joy in intercession which was so long denied me, beginning to comprehend the meaning of Our Lord's frequent vigils, occupied in intercession, and the joy and strength they gave Him.

I am glad for what you say about Christ's personality being merged into ours in some real way. I am trying, for a long time have been trying, to get a grip of this conception in my mind which I can state in such form as not to be mistaken, innocently or willfully, for pantheism, or Sufism, which is another term for the same thing I think.

My writing you as I did acted in some degree as a safety valve for my depression, and I am glad if it gave you no annoyance. The mists in the valley do not prevent my believing that the immovable hills are still there. I have never doubted that for thirty-one years. The trouble is that by whatever route I have endeavored to approach the hills, I have found sooner or later between them and me a great gulf fixed, fathomless and impassable. For thirty years I have forgotten everything in searching for a bridge over the chasm -- sometimes in trying to bridge it myself. Andrew Murray's book, "The Ministry of Intercession", which I read after my last return to America, led me to believe that I could build such a bridge for myself and for others by prayer - if I would only keep at it continuously enough. A pernicious book it was, to me.

The great uplift I received ~~from~~ ~~you~~ eighteen months ago, which came indeed not by any spoken words, but rather in the communication of a divine healing touch, was in the conviction that while no efforts of mine would avail to compass the chasm, it did not require to be crossed at all, that faith was all efficient to obliterate the chasm and to bring the strength of the hills home to my heart where I stood. This thought has been my stay for a year and a half, and during the present year I have sought with every faculty God has given me to let His will have free course and be glorified in me. Since I might not abound I have sought to content myself in being abased. Since I might not actively serve I have sought to glorify God while I accepted His bidding to stand and wait. But while joy does not come to

those who seek it for its own sake yet it seems to me that it must be a necessary fruit of a normal Christian life, and if after thirty one years of service its product is still only leaves, there is manifestly yet one thing lacking. ¶ I have been trying to write a book in defense of an outlying position of the Christian line of attack, in which it is incumbent on me to state what from my point of view Christianity is. I find myself in the presence of a marvellous Life, and with the assurance that that Life with all that pertains to it it is my privilege to realise in my own experience. That those for whom I write may attain to my point of view they must look through the lens of my own experience. ¶ I cannot borrow any neighbor's lens for that purpose - and my own falsifies the image. For though in the matter of personal character building I know that I have made definite gain, I am conscious that the one fruit of the Spirit which is magnified more than almost any other by our Lord and by his greatest apostles - joy, - has been and continues to be conspicuously absent from my life, and that so long as it is absent, the strength of the Lord must likewise fail me; I continue a weakling, What I meant in my quotation from Khayyam was that I was determined no longer to pretend to that which I had not. I ought long ago to have ceased to struggle for that which cannot come though any agony of struggle. I am trying now to be content to walk in the darkness, even in the darkness enhanced if need be, by obloquy, and to be thankful that God's will be done in me at whatever cost to myself. In this I am upheld by a great faith that all will work together

for good, for my destiny is in the hands of a God of infinite love and of infinite resource.

Now I will henceforth write no more, about myself, My health has failed very much since I received an injury from an electric car which knocked me down in January last. I probably have much suffering in store in future, but I trust the Lord will carry me through it all to the end.

Wellesley, Mass. Dec. 29, 1902

Again I appeal to you for help. I have come to the supreme crisis of my life, and the issue, if it be not a supreme faith, lies in madness. Pray for me, my dear friend, as you have never prayed before. I have been given power to pray for myself as I never could before, and so long as I can pray I feel that I am safe. But at times I cannot do this, and then the tempest in my soul is frightful. It has many times given me peace to think that Jesus is with me in the ship - even though sleeping - to "remember Jesus Christ."

The union of two believers in prayer for a common object has a fuller promise implicitly than that of one alone. Join with me in my petition. Pray that the cup may pass, or if not that I may have strength to drink it.

It is not for myself that I ask, My life is too worthless to waste a tear upon. It is for those whom God identifies with me for time and eternity that I feel concerned. For them I would be willing - perhaps glad - to have my name blotted out of the book of God's remembrance.

I have been in the abyss, but much of the time I have felt that Jesus was with me, though perhaps sleeping, while the tempest raged. I could not have believed I could suffer so and live. Is this one of the "other gardens" the Lord promised at Varseh to take me to see? I thought at the time it was to be another vision of a similar character. to that one. Within a few weeks I came to understand that the fruit must first be borne in suffering before I should be taken to see it. How much yet remains to be fulfilled, He only knows. Pray that I may not shrink from anything he calls me to undergo, and that my specific prayer of faith may be absolutely fulfilled.

Wellesley, Mass. Mar. 12, 1903

Forgive me for writing again as I did about my own woes. I have been in the mouth of hell, and despairing men forget the rights of others in their struggle for life. Don't throw me over yet! It was not because I was worthy that you became my friend, but because God so appointed it. I am unworthy of any man's friendship. Till now I have been buoyed up by the hope that I would ~~yet~~ become worthy of something, but hope has fled, and the catastrophe, so long dreaded, waits at the threshold. Nothing can now avert its coming, but your friendship, if it may yet hold true after so long and severe a strain, may possibly postpone it for a little while.

I am coming to a clearer vision, but shall I ever again dare to believe that I have an anchor that will not drag in a gale. I do not know whether it was intended that my chief occupation in life should be the delineation of my own frontiers. This appears to be all I have accomplished at any rate, but it has been pretty effectually done and I am appalled to discover how narrow a circle circumscribes my total endowment, mental, moral, and spiritual - appalled to see how poor a creature it is whom God is trying to make something out of.

I never before quite understood our Lord's meaning in telling His disciples not to rejoice because the devils were subject to them, but to rejoice that their own names were written in heaven. The marvel is there - that I have any share in so great a deliverance and I feel thankful to have a crumb that falls from a true disciple's table. I think I am effectually cured of the hope or desire to cast out devils, I shall be thankful enough to be a doorkeeper in the house of the Lord and to serve those that enter therein, is sufficient cause for thankfulness and joy.

Wellesley, Feb. 16, 1903

Since you were here I have been much of the time in the confines of the "City of Dreadful Night" and looking any time to be drawn into its vortex.

It is becoming clear to me that there was a world more of meaning to that remark of the Lord's as He dismissed

me that day at Varseh than I have ever comprehended, and that my ministry,- the only ministry I have had or am to have, is suffering. I have never known any real joy in life, not even in my early childhood, that was not so evanescent as to be practically illusory. I have never been really adjusted to my environment, and now that my memory has so completely failed me, this becomes acutely accentuated. But I never forget the painful things, except when to have remembered them would have saved me from others more painful. I understand what such conditions inevitably lead to, and that only the joy of the Lord can save me from the abyss of settled melancholia. If religious experience is independent, as you say, of temperament, would you go so far as to say that faith can conquer melancholia - the difference being only one of degree? I do not suffer only from imaginary ills- there is always a real one of grave import on the horizon ready to culminate when the last one has set, so I am never without a reason for being depressed. When the joy of the Lord comes, as sometimes it does, I realize the expulsive power of the new affection, and think nothing of my ills. But oh, how brief and infrequent are such experiences.

And yet I feel that the idea you have suggested has taken a real grip upon my mind, and is leading to something which, though I cannot call it joy, is yet suggestive of a state of exaltation of a higher order than the joy of the physical sense which I, at least, have known, higher perhaps than any

experience I have had of the joy of the Lord, higher in this, that it would seem to have a higher sanction, a source less open to question and therefore more vital - than the joy which has its physical basis in the vascular condition of the solar plexus. I am theorizing only at present, there is not yet enough of reality in it to do more but I have a "larger hope" than before, and certainly it has helped me over some very rough places.

Wellesley, June 3rd, 1903

Mrs. Holmes and I enjoyed very much the reading of Prof. Beecher's article, which is very reasonable and convincing. And yet, to accept as much as Prof. Beecher has accepted of the "modern view" of the Scriptures, must not one have radically changed his point of view? How far then will he be able to reject what the new perspective discloses? It is a perilous time for men whose faith in Christ depends solely on external evidence -- where the witness of the Word is not confirmed by the witness of the Spirit in the heart.

There is no more place for me among the ranks of the workers, and I should never dare to assume responsibility for the treatment of sickness. I have performed my little part on the world's stage and the curtain is rung down for me. Thirty three years ago I set out in quest of the Holy Grail - in search of personal fellowship with Christ. I closed my Shakespeare, my Ruskin, my Huxley and Gray and Dana, determined to make my Bible and books interpreting the Bible, my sole study, outside of absolutely necessary professional

reading till I knew the Scriptures, and through them, the Christ. These earlier treasures have remained closed, but I have not learned the Scriptures, and, as a personal abiding presence, such as I have felt He must be to me, and such as the Scriptures seemed to represent Him, I do not know the Christ. I staked my power for good in the world on this conception of Him, as a possibility for any sincere believer to realize - and I have lost! That the cause is in myself, does not, as I see, help the matter. ^{William} James's melancholic recognized his own madness, but that did not give him sanity - and, whatever his previous responsibility, anyone would accept his present plea, that he "could not help being crazy." I know that self is at the bottom of my malady, but for a third of a century I have; with ever growing intensity, and with agonizing prayer and endeavor, sought deliverance from self. I have now followed my appointed path till it has led me over the precipice, down into, and through, the abyss of fire. I have emerged, even though maimed, not indeed into the midst of the everlasting hills, but at least into a habitable valley on the farther side of the gulf, and so much nearer my goal. I have seen myself in my nakedness, and now I in part understand. The stony place, with its shallow covering of soil, is not appointed to bring forth thirty, sixty, a hundred fold but rather to a long succession of springtime greenness and summer blight, till the rocky substratum is disintegrated, and the way prepared for other sowers and other reaping. I am trying to be thankful, to have any place in God's plan, but negation, even negation

of self, is a sterile soil to cultivate, if there be no eternal affirmation to complement it. The house may be empty, swept and garnished, but if it be not filled with Christ, it will yet be filled with something.

I have given up the miserable attempt to write the book, though with it I must surrender all that gave meaning to the "vision". But for the supposed "call", the undertaking was grotesque at the outset. But the long awaited message has not come to be delivered - the witness of the Spirit to the words which, thus unconfirmed, are but an idle tale. I cannot honestly testify in terms of another's experience, to that to which the Spirit has not borne witness, in my own heart, much as I may believe it and wish to have others believe it.

This is the last reference I shall make, I hope, to anyone, to my spiritual life. If I may be permitted to look at Christ, I hope, even though the vision be obscure, to be delivered from looking at my own soul. I hope I may succeed in not thinking at all about it. How I can help this if I study the old texts, shut up as I am to myself, I do not know. Could I lose myself in ministering to the suffering poor, could I identify myself with Christ in service to his little ones, I would be glad to cleanse the sores of the Persian lepers sitting in the dust by the roadside. But all the activities of Christ's ministry, are shut up to me, and the Spirit gives me no warrant to pray for those I cannot serve in the flesh. I can only quiet myself as a child that is weaned of its

mother, for I have exercised myself in great matters, in things too high for me.

Boonton, July 23, 1907

The book "God and the Soul", which I return to you by same mail is remarkable for the lucidity of its statements of philosophical principles. You will not indorse all the author says in the latter part of the book, and yet Emerson's dictum, properly qualified, must be true, that the test of an inspired utterance is that it inspires us. If I fulfill the conditions imposed upon me by the Scriptures in my readings, and then am not inspired, it cannot in the nature of things be an inspired book to me at the time, however much I may believe that it inspires others, and desire that it may inspire me. I may have faith, but do not have inspiration, strength, spiritual life. And heartily as I have believed all my life in the position of the author ~~that the natural faculties~~ that the natural faculties which God has given us in which to mirror his divine nature were sufficient to enable us to respond to his appeals to our consciousness, I am coming more and more to the conviction that Gladstone and the older theologians were right, and the author is wrong, and that the higher reaches of spiritual life at any rate, are reserved for those whom Paul designates as "the elect."

It is a feast of fat things which this author spreads before us, but it is not one to which he permits me to sit down. For he says (p.160) that "the strength for a noble

moral life which religion gives lies in the bestowal of a Companion, a Friend, on the lonely soul of man" and (p.177) "that we may enter into actual (conscious) communion with God (as Person) in prayer, drawing from that communion peace, gladness and moral strength". The words in parenthesis are the author's, though they are not found in the sentence quoted. And the thought is his as they are the words and the thought of all who have written of the deeper life of the Spirit. Lyman Abbott, in a recent editorial, ('Outlook', ^{13.}~~17~~ July) calls on us to hear the words God is speaking "in every mystic consciousness of a transcendent ^{an} Presence communing with us in/inexpressible fellowship". I cannot see how Christ's own oft repeated words can be interpreted in any other sense than that conscious communion is the privilege of any one who will come to Him. The author so interprets it and he assumes that the consciousness of every man who accepts the gracious invitation will verify it. But what he assumes and Lyman Abbott assumes as a fact of experience, my own consciousness refuses its assent to, for to my experience it is not a fact of consciousness. Yet I have, so far as I know, fulfilled the conditions, at least during the past eighteen months, to the very utmost limit of the powers, intellectual and spiritual, which God has given me. The quest of the Barmecide was not refreshed by assuming the reality of the form~~h~~ he underwent of eating savory dishes, and my strong faith that I was really experiencing spiritual realities which my consciousness for some reason failed to recognize, has not resulted in any noticeable accession of

spiritual strength. On the contrary, I have constantly been in a state of semi-starvation and have seldom had anything to divide with anyone else.

I have always been taught to look upon the experience of the true Christian as something very different from what has proved to be my own. I find it so characterized in the Christian Scriptures, and by every pulpit and prayer meeting utterance. The promises are conditional, so far as I understand them, on faith alone and repentance without regard to merit. Surely I have no claim if merit is the condition, but I understand the Gospel to ~~posit~~ ^{present} Christ as the basis of the Christian's faith and not any worthiness in himself. If, during the past eighteen months I have not believed, then I confess my inability to believe. My experiences have in the past taken a pretty broad range. For three or four years in my early life I was wholly without faith in a future life. The pendulum has never swung so far back since ~~then~~, but when, that winter in California, I found the ground cut ^{from} under my feet, I had grave doubts whether it held out any hope for me. When faith returned it was based on the testimony of the reason rather than of the emotions, it was based on the conviction that the nature of things demanded a Savior and that without Christ God's personality was undemonstratable, and that without a personal God there was no real sanction for righteousness. I compelled my will to accept what my longings, my unappeasable longings, cried out for, but I presume my longings were more for companionship than for righteousness, that I sought for

solace perhaps rather than for something higher. But during these eighteen months I have sought to the uttermost to be unselfish in my service to Christ. I have thought of Christ as being more than all his gifts, as being more than the sum of all his attributes, as possessing a personality which transcended anything that we have power to conceive of, and into relation with which it was only possible for us to enter by faith.

I don't know what the "ego" is which so strongly dominated my will. I only know that it was dominated and held to its work by some power within me in spite of the daily recurring consciousness that prayer and delight or help in God's word were denied me. At last the will, or the ego which gave direction to the will, seems to have exhausted itself in further effort, and become paralysed. The rod which comforts is not, to the consciousness, the same thing as the rod which scourges.

Yet I would not be understood as insisting that Christ must on a priori considerations reveal Himself to my spiritual consciousness. As I said, once before, He may have the best of reasons for standing in the shadow while keeping watch above His own. Till the bar is crossed the pilot may wisely keep his face invisible. This may be wise and it may be loving, and it may be (an invisible) companionship. But I cannot understand how it can be a fulfillment of the promises in the Gospel and how it can be in accord with the claims put forth in the book and throughout all Christian literature for the spiritual life. The only inference to be drawn therefore is that such as I are still in the gall of bitterness (which is clear enough)

and in the bond of iniquity, or else, which I prefer to believe, that the elect constitute a higher order of believers to whom are committed the blessings of personal companionship with the Master and thereby the privilege of speaking in his name with power to others.

Is the author scientific in saying that the argument for physical and spiritual experience is "exactly the same." Science takes account of all the facts. Now physical tests give uniform results, and I can ^{verify} ~~unify~~ those of my neighbor, as that the sun is in the heavens, etc. But spiritual tests do not give uniform results, in the same sense as in the physical world. Only a very small fraction of mankind fail to see the sun, if the will to do so exists. But to how tremendous a proportion of these who long for spiritual vision is the gift denied.

Boonton, N. J. May 23, 1908

I want you also to know that light has come to me on some of the dark problems about which I have from time to time sought your counsel, and on which your help has been so valuable and so highly appreciated.

There is much yet on which I must wait for further light. Why the Scriptures should be still, to so large an extent a closed book to me as a help to devotional exercise, why supplication for others should so quickly become a mentally fatiguing, instead of an exhilarating exercise, I do not know. I must be content to wait on the Spirit's times, and the Spirit's methods of instruction, and to be used according to the Spirit's purpose.

Aug. 28, 1909

Now I want to tell you of a great joy that has come into my life. Yesterday in clearing up some old papers, I found a letter of yours, written five years ago in reply to one of my ready-to-halt letters. In it you tell of your prayers for me that that experience might pass away, "to be succeeded by an even better and more tranquil realization than I have ever known before of the peace and love of God." I am glad to tell you that your prayer has been answered, and that for two months I have enjoyed a "tranquil realization" of fellowship with Christ such as I have never experienced before save for the briefest periods and at long intervals. I rejoice now with fear and trembling remembering my many disappointments and yet I do rejoice with great joy. Before the answer came I was subjected to a fearful temptation, a temptation to deny Christ and turn my back upon Him. It seemed to have been the final effort of the tempter, and I was given grace to cast myself wholly on Christ. He had never before crowded me into quite so close quarters. It was the desperateness of the temptation that revealed to me Christ's power to give aid in the strengthening of my faith. And now I can ask all things, feeling I am accepted in the Beloved, and that He delighteth to give more than I can ask or think of asking. But in prayer I am but a little child learning my a b c's, Forty years literally have I wandered in the wilderness, only now have I crossed the Jordan to the Promised Land. Is not this one of the "other gardens",

in which I had the promise eleven years ago at Varseh that
I should walk with my Lord?

Dr. Holmes died peacefully at ^OBoonton, N.J., on May 10, 1910, and was
~~buried there by the hands of friends who had become devoted to him, as he bound~~
~~people in affection to him wherever he went and wherever he dwelt.~~
at Graffordville, Indiana.

The kind of man he was and the work he did have been clearly revealed. It remains only to record some of the tributes to him written by a few of those who knew him best. One of these was the Rev. W. R. Stocking, for nine years one of the missionaries in Urumia, now Rezaieh:

I had the pleasure in 1874 of meeting the reinforcements for the Western Persia Mission when they landed at Trebizond on the Black Sea, and escorting the party on the overland journey of seven hundred miles to the City of Urumia.

The group was made up of Rev. Joseph L. Potter, Miss Annie Poage, Miss Mary K. Van Duzee and Dr. and Mrs. George W. Holmes. From the port of Trebizond to Erzroom there is a fine wagon road, and our party of six rode in the station wagon which I borrowed from the Erzroom missionaries and drove with my own horses. The native servants with our needful wayside baggage, including bedding and the saddles for use beyond Ezroom, were all carried in a springless emigrant-like Russian wagon. We were certainly a happy, jolly company. The scenery as we climbed the wooded mountains overlooking the Euxinewas not merely beautiful, but majestic. The meeting with and overtaking of the multiform caravans—made up of oxen, camels, mules, horses and donkeys, with occasionally a string of ponderous wheeled, excruciatingly squeaking carts—furnished no end of amusement to the new comers. The sharp cries of the hustling muleteers as they sought to get their animals out of our way, mingled with the notes of the caravan bells, sometimes resounded from the wooded steepes, caused a medley of sounds, which was not soon forgotten.

From Erzroom our party formed quite a cavalcade with extra pack horses for baggage and servants. The baggage included tents, camp bedsteads, and bedding

IX.

with some cooking utensils and various provisions. The daily making of camp, towards evening, and breaking up and starting in the early morning, were always interesting, and often mirth-provoking. Then, too, the new scenes, whether of landscape village, flocks or agricultural activities was entertaining and instructive. At times some simple oral lessons in the native languages, furnished an entertaining diversion as well as amusement.

Dr. Holmes, if my memory serves me correctly, was the one member of that party who adapted himself most quickly to the new conditions. He had served in the U. S. Army during the Civil War and therefore was accustomed to horseback riding. That experience also made it easier for him to meet the limitations and hardships of camping out. He had a most courteous yet dignified manner which commended him to all classes, and a rare penetration into character, a quality greatly to be desired in a missionary, especially in a missionary physician.

A quick correct ear is a great help in acquiring a new language. Dr. Hoomes seemed to possess that and in a very short time he was able not only to return the universal salutation 'Salaam a^lakim' (Peace be to you) by saying 'Alakim salaam' (^{may} ~~the~~ peace return to you) but readily learned to use other sentences.

In a country where educated physicians are very rare- a 'Hakeem Boshee' (head doctor) was a person who could negotiate privileges which might not be granted to others. This fact accounts in part for the tremendous influence which some of our beloved and skilful physicians have secured in those benighted lands.

I can never forget Dr. Holmes' loving ministries in my home in connection with the birth of our first born (twin daughters). He was so strong, hopeful, sympathetic. His forceful presence inspired confidence. Very naturally as a token of our love and appreciation of his services, we gave his name to one of the girls.

In connection with our station meetings for prayer and conference

his strong faith in God and in the power of the gospel, gave an earnestness and directness to his petitions, and in all questions of mission policy he showed a statesman~~like~~ grasp of the situation. He was a wise councillor.

The second paper is from Mrs. S. G. Wilson for thirty years in Tabriz, daughter of Mrs. S. J. Rhea, one of the earlier missionaries in Urumia^{Dr. Gilson} and wife ^{was} of one of the ablest men in Persia:

"My first sight of Dr. Holmes was at a meeting of the Board of the North West, in Cedar Rapids, when my mother introduced him to the audience as 'Luke, the Beloved Physician.' He was greeted with prolonged applause. At the time he was practicing there, having returned from Persia on account of his wife's health; later he again was appointed to the mission field, but transferred from Urumia to Tabriz.

"There I made his acquaintance, when we arrived in 1886, and found in him a counsellor and friend. He had a special gift for friendship and drew others by his warm sympathy, genial kindness, and an indefinable charm. All felt it, from the Crown Prince down to the poorest patient in his dispensary. The Crown Prince became so attached to him, that he insisted on his accepting the position of court physician, and delighted to call him often in attendance. He would lay his hand on his shoulder affectionately and ask him to become a Mussulman. Doctor would respond: 'I would to God that thou wert such as I am'. It was a great surprise to this Prince, when his favorite 'servant' resigned his high position to take his invalid wife to London for an operation. The Prince could not understand such devotion to a woman, and said: 'I'll get you another, young and beautiful. She's already gray-haired.' Doctor told ~~him~~ us he never wanted ^{do} as much to kick a man. So the Prince and the whole city, while they marveled, saw an example of the love and loyalty of a Christian marriage.

"Dr. Holmes lacked the sense of seeking his own advantage and was generous

LX.

to a fault. He also had some characteristics which were often joked about among us all- his utter disregard of time and his own comfort in his absorption in his work. He dropped in to see us one evening at nine and I asked "Have you had dinner?" With a reminiscent look he explained: "Why, I had so many calls, I believe I forgot to go home to dinner." I wondered if sweet, long-suffering Mrs. Holmes was still waiting dinner for him.

One summer we spent in a Persian Garden in tents, at the invitation of the owner, a grateful patient of his. When we arrived after several hours of riding, we found a delicious lunch of Persian dishes spread for us under the trees, which reminded us of the magic of the Arabian nights and in the following weeks this Persian lady loaded us with kindnesses, as if she could not do enough to show her appreciation of "the beloved physician". While the rest of us enjoyed this Paradise, he would leave every morning at five o'clock to ride to his work in the city. He would start in a heavy overcoat in the chill of the morning and one day, when he got back in the evening, he complained of the intense heat. We asked "Did you wear that overcoat all day?" and with a laugh he had to acknowledge ^{that he had and} ~~that~~ ^{that} that might have increased the temperature.

Dr. Holmes was more than a doctor, skilful, famous and adored by all to whom he ministered. He had a message to give for Christ and beside the many opportunities he improved in his practice, he was Superintendent of the Sunday School and took his turn in leading a very popular English service for Europeans held Sunday evenings. I remember well one of his sermons, carefully written out, on "The Kingdom of God is not meat and drink but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost." It meant a great deal to have his strong testimony to a spiritual life given before such an audience, all of whom had the greatest admiration for him.

Dr. Holmes truly used all his skill and influence to prepare the way for Mission work and to protect and promote it, as he could more than anyone else on account of his position and the high regard he had won from Moslem officials. For

IX.

example, though a small incident,, he introduced me into the exclusive harem of the Crown Prince's son-in-law to give the royal princess music lessons and so through him we found an open door into high class Moslem homes. Again and again his personal favor with Prince or Governor was a shield and warded off disaster.

"To this day, though thirty years have passed, since he lived in Tabriz, his name is remembered and incidents are recalled of his successful and devoted service with grateful affection for the man himself."

The third tribute is from ^{the late} Miss Margaret (Grettie) Y. Holliday, for ^{now deceased} thirty seven years in Tabriz, one of the keenest, richest personalities ever sent out to work among the Mohammedans.

"I will gladly give you all the help I can, though it will not do justice to his beautiful character, or show the effect it had on those who knew him here.

"It was but a few days ago I met a Persian, who had been a patient of his, and still more, a lifelong friend. This man was attacked with a disease of the eyes, which caused him to take a long and expensive journey to Europe, to consult specialists there, who proved unable to help him, so he returned, expecting to lose his eyesight. He consulted Dr. Holmes, whose treatment was entirely successful; his gratitude continues to this day as fresh as ever, not only for his preserved vision, but for the personal relation formed and the kindness and interest shown. He always inquires after Dr. Holmes' children when we see him, and wishes to know of their welfare. His wife and children also feel to this day the influence of much which grew out of his connection with the family.

"Dr. Holmes certainly had a "genius for friendship"; one of the first things I remember hearing about him, was in connection with Dr. Cochran of Urumia, who had seriously broken down in health. His associates were consulting about

sending him to Europe for a rest, when He said, "Let me only go to Tabriz and be with Dr. Holmes; I shall get well;" this proved to be the case.

He was a true "Son of Consolation"; it might be said of him as of another of our Persian physicians, by a Moslem, "when he comes into the room, I feel as if an angel had come; I begin at once to recover; he makes no distinction between a peasant and a prince; he is the same to all."

Dr. Holmes gave himself without reserve to any one who needed him; he was almost too sympathetic with those in trouble and pain, for his own good; he literally suffered with them, and it was this power of entering into their feelings which drew them to him. His own health was far from strong; he suffered from distressing and dangerous attacks of heart trouble and also from weakness and inability to do all he planned and desired; in a certain sense he labored at a disadvantage of which he was very conscious. He said once to me he thought the severest penalty for not preparing one's self thoroughly for the duties and opportunities of a high position, was in being placed in that position and feeling so inadequate to filling it. He was so truly humble, he seemed to feel this was his own case, but I am sure no one else did.

The history of his relation with the Crown Prince is a curious one; it was so entirely unsought and undesired by him as well as by his fellow missionaries, who preferred to avoid court entanglements. The principal court physician was a European, whose appointment was largely due to political considerations; his arrogance and ^{an} undisguised contempt for them made him very obnoxious to the Persian doctors, of whom a number were attached to the palace entourage.

Dr. Holmes being often professionally in contact with these men, was their friend and sought to help them in their practice as much as possible, treating them with respect and never failing courtesy. I asked him once if they really knew anything of medicine and were not mere quacks, and was much surprised when he replied they knew a great deal as some of them had studied in Europe, and

most of them used European books and tried to inform themselves, as well as they could, of matters connected with their profession. Those educated only in this country labored under certain drawbacks, incident to the backward state of civilization, but some, even of these, were not to be despised. He mentioned one by name who was an adept in performing a certain difficult surgical operation, and said he was quite as successful in that specialty as any one. These physicians wished Dr. Holmes to be introduced in the palace, but strong influence was brought to bear against it, till two of the children of the Prince were dangerously ill, and he was induced to call the American doctor in consultation. Dr. Holmes's diagnosis was that it was diphtheria; the European swore it was not, and that the American knew nothing of the matter. The chemical test proved that he was the ignoramus and the cases were put in Dr. Holmes's charge. It was long before the days of the antitoxine treatment, but the children made a good recovery. The royal Princess, who was the head of the Prince's harem, insisted on becoming a patient of the new doctor, and his treatment was crowned with brilliant success in her case also. The Prince was strongly drawn to him and came to trust and lean upon him, not only as a weak character supports itself on a disinterested friend, who has nothing to gain or lose from him, who is absolutely desirous of helping and who really loves him. The attachment was mutual, dissimilar as were the two men; while Dr. Holmes was praying with all his heart that Christ might be revealed to the Prince, he was also praying that the physician might accept Islam, "If you can only weep one sincere tear for the Imam Hussain, it will insure your eternal salvation." This friendship was a cause of embarrassment, and occasioned much jealousy and intrigue. When the physicians would be called to an audience, all, the European, as well as the Persians would be left to stand at the lower end of the room by the entrance door, while the American would be called up and made to sit by the Prince on the same cushion, a difference far from being pleasant to a diffident and humble man. The Prince insisted that he must relinquish his missionary connection and

become the principal Court physician; this was carried so far that Dr. Holmes began to feel that unless he accepted the position he could no longer remain in the city. After very serious consideration and much prayer on the part of both Dr. and Mrs. Holmes, who wished only to do what would be for the glory of God and the good of the mission cause, so dear to both of them, he decided to accept. I was in the U.S.A. at the time, so do not know the details; the connection was not for long as, for health reasons, the family returned to America and afterwards Dr. Holmes saw his way clear to decline a reappointment, and to return to the mission work in another city of Persia. The personal attachment had counted more with him than anything else; the position in itself was no gain, but rather an embarrassing burden. It was much like the relation between the late Dr. Underwood and the royal family of Korea.

//I have spoken of Dr. Holmes' gentle humility as one of his most beautiful traits, but he could assent himself when the honor of his Master and of the cause he represented was at stake, as once when he was called to treat the wife of the chief religious dignitary of Islam. According to custom, Dr. Holmes offered his hand, which the proud Moslem refused to touch, as involving religious defilement; Dr. Holmes turned on his heel and left the courtyard; the Mujtahid was glad to hurry after him and shake hands, begging him to return, nor was he less liked or respected for his resentment at this deliberate insult to Christianity.

//One of his outstanding traits was his absolute truthfulness and sincerity; he never scrupled, when questioned on some point, to say frankly, 'I don't know; I have not made up my mind;' when he said he did know you were sure of his mastery of the case and its treatment.

//But he was first a missionary, then a physician; all his professional attainments were only regarded as auxiliary to his real aim of advancing the work of the Kingdom of God. He had a broad way of looking at things, a statesman-like grasp of questions of missionary plans and policy, that, had he done nothing

in this country than to give some of us ideas and ideals, would have made him a valuable man. He was wise in counsel and knew how to straighten out many a tangled train. I have just been looking over the only thing at hand from his pen; you will find it in the book entitled "Our Moslem Sisters" pp. 208-213. It is taken from an article he wrote for "Woman's Work" and is a good specimen of his beautiful literary style. It is a matter of regret that he did not write more for publication.

¶ A dangerous and prolonged illness taught me to appreciate in some measure the character of my "beloved physician"; I can see him now as he would enter the sickroom with his cheerful face and conversation adopted to cheer the convalescent; I can hear his hearty laugh and see his smile.

¶ But the most precious memory is of the Christian life and devotion to the Master whom he loved, and to whom he was fully consecrated.

¶ An Armenian merchant, whose life he had saved when accidentally poisoned, was heard to say, "I am an infidel; I have no faith in God or Christianity, but if there is such a thing as a Christian in this world, Dr. Holmes is that Christian."

¶ This is the impression left by him in Persia, where after nearly thirty years, there remain Christians and Moslems, who remember him with love and gratitude.

"Of such as he was, there be few on earth,
Of such as he is, there are many in heaven.
And life is all the sweeter that he lived,
And all he loved more sacred for his sake.
And death is all the brighter that he died,
And heaven is all the happier that he's there."

The fourth tribute is Miss Annie Montgomery's. Miss Montgomery, "the Great City" as she was called in Hamadan, and her sister Charlotte were from Prince Edward Island and retained their British citizenship though they served as American missionaries, Annie for thirty-five years and Charlotte for nineteen years. They were extraordinary women, devoted, forceful, positive and unselfish:

¶ There is one story I am sure you cannot have from anyone else and, Oh! how many of us could write, of his Christlikeness, of his humility, of his faithfulness, of his judgment in the administration of affairs, of his self-abnegation, losing

sight altogether of self, that God might be glorified - and with his feet walking among men, his heart ever in heaven. I can remember so well, on one of his journeys with Mr. Whipple, they began talking of the home Christ had gone to prepare, and became so absorbed in the theme, that they altogether forgot the road they were traveling, and before they came back to earthly things, they had wandered many farsakhs from their way. As I recollect the story I meant to tell, it was this. A woman having an immense tumor came to the Friday prayermeeting, in the Faith Hubbard School. She was assured there was only one human agency, that could help her, and that was an operation by Dr. Holmes. I can see her as she would sit panting by the window at the meetings, as Mrs. Hawkes in her beautiful Persian, or some one else, told of the way of life, or the healing, that the Good Physician alone could give, and day by day the necessity of immediate operation became more and more apparent. However she applied to Dr. Holmes and then his characteristic wisdom and prudence were shown, in the way in which he left nothing undone, that could insure immunity from danger to the work, if the operation should have a fatal result. The woman was a ~~sayid~~ ^{sayid} and their lives are considered peculiarly sacred in Persia: so of course there was more danger in attempting the operation on that account. Dr. Holmes succeeded in getting the paper granting permission for him to perform the operation, signed by every friend, every official, every ecclesiastic, who could possibly make any objection, or stir up any opposition. Then think of the next set of difficulties that must be overcome. Such an operation had never been performed by a gentlemen in Persia as far as I know on a Moslem woman. Indeed before his coming here it would have been considered utterly impossible but the request of the Firman Firma, the old king's son-in-law, who had been governor of Tabriz, that Dr. Holmes go to Kermanshah and attend his daughter in her confinement, exerted a powerful influence in ^{his} ~~Mr. Holmes~~ favour among all classes of men and women in Persia. Then think of such a very critical operation having to be performed in a filthy Persian mud house and without trained assistants. I who had never had any training except what experience gave me in the case of common ailments in a Girls' Boarding School, and in one major

urgical operation performed on a missionary, was the only nurse he could hope to have. His assistants were just young men who had been in his medical class and who were not very alive in the details of their work many of which were very repugnant to them as Jews. The great comfort was that the samovar would furnish us plenty of boiled water but from where could we find sterilized water that would cool the boiling water? Then the Faith School kettles were called into requisition and they were filled and boiled and stoppered hermetically the night before and then carried across the city at least two miles in the dim light of the next morning's dawn. When I at that time reached the dispensary it was only to find that the assistants who had promised to have everything ready, and be ready to start from there to prepare the mud room, had failed yet to appear. Oh! what tedious delays awaited him before we could possibly get even the preparations possible then in Hamadan completed. Then think that this was all being done when he was in the deepest anxiety about his dearest friend and was preparing for his departure in a few days in answer to a telegraphic summons. I provided the sheets and everything necessary for the patient, but think of an expert at home performing an operation for abdominal tumor in such a room. Only those who have lived in such surroundings in Persia can imagine the quantity and vileness of the accumulated. Then the other difficulties that had to be overcome. Think of an expert in America, for instance, performing an operation on a body which could only have a Persian bath. The law requires, I have heard, that the water in which all comers bathe shall be changed, at least, once in three months. And then the surgeon had never seen and must not see the body of the patient. The instrument for drawing off the fluid had to be inserted by measurements could take under a rubber sheet that completely enveloped the body of the patient, and a hole was cut in the rubber sheet for the insertion of the instrument. Then the patient was anaesthetized and for four hours Dr. Holmes worked while Charlotte prayed at home, and as I stood and watched him every breath was a prayer that his heart might not fail him and Doctor and patient die together. A few days after when Dr. Holmes had got about fourteen miles from Hamadan on his homeward journey such an attack came on when his hands, face, and his face were so blue those with him feared he would never speak again. Before

the operation began I had stationed a horseman at the door, and at a given signal he was to race to the Faith Hubbard School and bring the hot coffee and food Charlotte had ready and waiting, and when the operation was so far advanced that I saw he would get back by the time the patient was put to bed the man started, and when the patient was laid in her bed we laid Dr. Holmes exhausted in the steamer chair I had brought over. His coffee was ready and he rested before he mounted his horse and rode home. The patient had no better nurse than I who am only a born nurse, but in spite of that, and all the septic surroundings, Dr. Holmes was able to leave her at the time appointed for his journey, and she soon was so far recovered that she was able to take all the nourishment that we and Mrs. Hawkwes would supply for the rest of her life; and when after some years she died of another disease we had the joy of knowing that while we had been providing food for her she had been accumulating a fortune of 2000 krans which she bequeathed to her mother, and we had another lesson in not allowing our sympathy to outrun our judgment!"

The fifth tribute is from Mirza Saeed Khan, the best known Persian physician, a converted Mohammedan Kurd, a scholar and a gentleman, unflinching in his Christian testimony and respected and honored by all - Moslem, Jew and Christian:

"It was in 1884, when the dear Dr. Holmes and the late beloved Mr. Whipple came to Hamadan, that I got my first impression about their gentleness and manner of life. A few years later while he was in the capital with the late Shah (then the Crown Prince) a telegram told him of the serious illness of Dr. Alexander's daughter. Although the late Shah was unwilling to let him go, yet he pressed and insisted upon going to Hamadan, and in spite of the weakness of the body, faced the rough ride on horseback in winter. Those who have made similar journeys in those days and have roughed it with those poor skeleton chapar horses know how hard it must have been. In the absence of Dr. Alexander I attended a few patients in the dispensary. I remember one night though late I went and ventured to ask him to go with me and see a poor Jew who was suffering. I kept asking myself, "Will the physician to the Crown Prince be willing to go with me at

I heard how much the Ameer Alla'd Din, one of the most learned and intelligent
man of the Western Persia, loved "the Hakim Sahib." A few years after the death of
beloved physician" it fell to my lot to be invited and attend to this nobleman for a
months. It was joy to me to see how the memory of Dr. Holmes was sweet and honored
him and his family, yes, even by his servants. Whenever he spoke of him he would
"May God exalt his degrees", a prayer only used for a Mohammedan saint. Those who are
ainted with the ^{Miah} ~~Shoolah~~ sect of Islam know how a Christian is considered unclean and
deserves hell. They and they only can understand how ~~much~~ effective the life of this
man must have been to break down these prejudices as to rank him among the saints.
as he was speaking of "the forgiven" or "pardoned", "Dr. Holmes," I said, "yes,
gh being dead yet speaketh." This made him fetch his Arabic and Persian Bibles which
ed in his library. I read to him the whole chapter of Heb. XI and touching on
erent, important subjects, it was encouraging to see tears running down his cheeks.
day in speaking of mistakes in administering drugs I told the Ameer how once towards
close of his useful life Dr. Holmes found he had made a mistake in one of his
criptions. After that he prescribed for no one lest his memory be failing or not
otent. The Ameer sighed deeply and said, "My friend, when compared with Dr. H. we
ourselves like rubbish." The learned ^{muytali'd} always in attendance told me, "I
heard the Ameer say ^{and when} among the great men ~~which~~ I have come in contact I have seen
the equal Dr. Holmes".

A very pious and learned priest at Hamadan once told me, "It is God who gives us
and sends us sunshine too, and among His gifts to us He also has given us ~~the~~ Dr.
es."

Although he was the Hakim Sahib, yes, and more, yet the spirit of Sahibism which is
a barrier between the foreign missionary and his native brother had not spoilt him.
free from the racial pride and haughtiness of caste. He was ready at any time
listen patiently and humbly and learn from his native brethren, and to encourage them
own, "I was helped by your word" or "by your letter", etc.

Nothing can be more touching and at the same time instructive than the devotion of Dr. Holmes to the work God had given him to do. How he loved the few medical students whom he was laboring with untired devotedness to bring up as Christian men and to help them to live honestly and nobly before men! Those who remember what degradation the Jewish community of Hamadan was in thirty years ago can judge better of the missionary labor and teaching, especially Dr. Holmes's efforts, has done for and through his medical class, and how his influence and teaching has elevated these young men and literally "has raised up the poor out of the dust and lifted up the beggar from the dunghill to set them among princes and to make them inherit the throne of glory." Owing to Mrs. Holmes's failing health the doctor had to leave and accompany her as far as London on her way back to the States. The doctor who never was strong had an attack of influenza in London which brought him very low. He consulted the well-known Dr. Yeo who told him his work was finished and he ought not to think of active work again. Yet this dear servant of the Lord who was yearning over the growth and welfare of his pupils in Persia in spite of everything gave up all the comforts of home and help which civilization can give to a feeble frame, took the journey, returned home to Persia and helped the young men to finish their course and introduced them to the public at Hamadan as qualified men. What he did and endured for the sake of his pupils has over and over reminded me of the words of the great inspired Apostle of the Gentiles "and I will very gladly spend and be spent for you; though the more abundantly I love you, the less I be loved!" II Cor. XII:15.

I well remember how delighted he was over any spiritual and medical progress which any of his pupils showed. He seemed to say, "Now we live if you stand fast in the Lord." I Thes. III:8

What a rebuke his labor of love to the heartless easygoing worldly who enjoying all the comforts of civilization, leaning in his comfortable chair and criticising the missionary, knows nothing about the joy of following Him, who though He was rich, yet for your sake He became poor that ye through His poverty might be rich." II Cor. VIII:9. Yes, the beloved Dr. Holmes practically knew what it means, "Blessed be God, even the Father of our

and Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comfort; Who comforteth us all our tribulation, that we may be able to comfort them which are in any trouble, the comfort wherewith we ourselves are comforted of God. For as the sufferings of Christ abound in us, so our consolation also aboundeth by Christ. And whether we be afflicted, it is for your consolation." IICor. I:3,4,5,6. And in practice, with a weak body, to those he meant to do them good, he did plainly say, "Death worketh in us but life in you." II Cor. IV:12.

It is worth mentioning to show what a keen observer Dr. Holmes was and to what extent his discerning power did prove and "try spirits," as occasionally in private he spoke to me about the state and condition of his pupils and expressed his delight over the spiritual and temporal progress of some and deep sorrow over the slowness of some. ~~On one occasion he was speaking to me of Mirza-Moussa. "His case," said he, "makes me very sad. He is a careless young man. I am not satisfied with him at all. I see the traits in him which I dislike. I have been compelled to tell him more than once, "often tremble for you. I think you are not even converted." How remarkably the statements of this acute observer have proved themselves, for besides other unbecoming behaviour of M. Moussa, now that sixteen years have passed since the doctor told me the above words, I received a while ago a letter from Moussa claiming to be the Son of Man of Daniel VII and the man child of Rev. XII. He invited me to go to Jerusalem and embrace his claims. I noticed in him a few years ago symptoms of paranoia. The delusions of his disease must have got the upper hands over him.~~

It is enough that it can be said of Dr. Holmes, "the disciple whom Jesus loved." His quiet manner (though a Lion when truth and justice were at stake), humbleness of mind, meekness of spirit, truthfulness and faithfulness, did prove to people that "he had been with Jesus" and was a living proof that that beautiful life was pleasing unto God, which neither philosophy can show nor any other religion can produce. ~~Whence was it that he by action and practice did put to shame any Jannes and Jambres who imitated the truth but denying the power thereof?~~ Will infidelity send us a sign to take his place? Truly he was an epistle of Christ read of all men. Would to

God that we who have seen such a living example could follow him as he followed Christ, and "remember him who spoke unto us the word of God, to follow his faith, considering the end of his conversation," and to learn that truly the secret of godliness and piety observed in his useful and effective life and in similar lives in this dark world is in believing and following the Lord Jesus Christ - "God manifest in the flesh," I Tim. III:16."

The last tribute is from Mr. Stocking's daughter, Mrs. A. C. Boyce of Teheran:

"The death of Dr. Holmes means much to all Persia people. Occasionally here in Teheran I meet people who knew him in Hamadan and they speak of him with so much reverence and affection. Last Summer I had a most kind letter from him and I was counting on his friendship and counsel to help over some of the hard places. I want to copy for you some good advice he wrote me in a letter in 1906, just before I came to Persia:

"You will find a beautiful language in the Persian, with a literature which you will do well to cultivate. For thus you will gain access to Persian modes of thought, and through it you will gain access to the Persian heart as in few other ways save by cultivating the spirit of love for them as individuals, in spite of the many things which will inevitably try your patience to the utmost. Don't allow yourself to be influenced by prejudice, even as against their most objectionable qualities. Study the good that is somewhere to be found in everything, study to discover and draw this out in them and build on that, for that is Christ in them, the foundation which is laid. This is wiser and better than battering down their false beliefs. These will fall away of themselves as the truth in Christ finds lodgment in their hearts. Study their folklore, their customs, their proverbs, which often not alone give the index to their thoughts, but often act as the latchstring to their consciences when deftly used. Few things serve better to break the ice in opening up conversation."

* How wonderfully beautifully he put it - that all the good I find in my school girls, for instance, is Christ, the foundation laid. Believing He is here already makes it infinitely easier to work for His revealing.

he counselled others so he wrought himself. He looked ever for good and found it in
ers. It was of his own humility that he did not see it, as all others saw it, in himself.
was a good man and like his Master he passed through doing good. He was a wise man
the wisdom that comes down from God. And he had the heart of a little child. So I
ess of him, who knew him and loved him.

~~Appendix~~

Appendices,

Paper B.

Resolutions on Self-Support, adopted by Oroomiah Station.

While we recognize that efforts have been made in the past towards self-support, with some degree of success, we feel that the time has come for such changes as shall make this more definite and speedily attainable.

When the present system was adopted, of one hundred houses as constituting a parish that could support a pastor, we had the field to ourselves, with a good prospect of so bringing it under Gospel influences as to make it support the one in charge. Those conditions have changed by the coming in of the Ritualists, so that a readjustment is necessary.

(1) The number of preachers in the Oroomiah field is now larger than is compatible with the aim of self-support, so that the number of preachers needs to be diminished and the size of the parish increased.

After a fair trial it has been proved that some parishes are too small to support a pastor without aid.

(2) We recognize the fact that the preachers of the church do not give all their time and strength to their work, and that their present salary does not enable them to do so. With the enlargement of the field there should be such an increase of salary as would enable them to give all their time to the service, and this should be strictly required.

(3) The salary should never be more than what the church is able in time to pay.

(4) Our aim should be to put the work on this basis as soon as is possible, taking each separate case into separate consideration.

Two things are necessary to the success of this plan. First, to continually press on the people their duty in giving. Secondly, there must be a systematic, persistent and constant supervision of the field. These two things are *absolutely* necessary.

With this in view we suggest the reduction of the number of parishes from the present number, which is 47, to about 35.

A ~~Paper~~ C.

*What are the respective claims of the Central Station and the Outlying Districts upon the time and energies of the Missionary Forces?**

BY G. W. HOLMES, M. D., HAMADAN.

The question of the relative importance of the two divisions of Missionary work, which for convenience may be designated stationary work and itinerating, is one which is always coming to the front, and which will ever continue to do so so long as any part of the world remains to be evangelized; for its answer depends not upon any settled principles of missionary policy, capable of general application, but largely upon local conditions, differing in many respects in different fields of labor. The agencies, the agents, the stage of development of the work, the attitude of the people, their educational, social and political progress, the physical features of the country, the attitude of the government and ruling classes, etc., must all be taken into consideration, together with many subordinate questions relating to the physical ability of the missionaries to carry on the work of itineration under given conditions their adaptability to such work, and the strength of the force.

*Read at the Missionary Conference, Hamadan, Persia, October 2, 1894.

reduce somewhat their number and to enlarge their parishes in the hope of making self-support more possible. Each preacher strives to gather a church, which has its stated meetings and is represented in annual Presbyterial and Synodical meetings. This system is radically different from that proposed, in that the preacher has preceded the church and not grown out of it.

2. *Remarks on the rules proposed.*

(1) We should not be able to approve this rule, believing that no fixed proportion is practicable, and that there are places where a preacher should be stationed for the sake of his influence on Moslems, even if the prospect of self-support is for the present nil. (Cf. above II. 2 C.)

(2) The conference at Hamadan two years ago proposed substantially this scheme, but reflection has compelled us to doubt its practicability. In most places a prophetic foresight would be needed to impose a fixed rate of increase on a congregation. Such a rate once fixed might be an obstacle, while the suspension of rule is always to be regretted. When a church has approached self-support such a rule might be tried with advantage.

(3) This rule would, we think, require modification in order to protect the preacher from unjust loss. For example, business depression, scarcity, or high prices might bear hard on him by reducing his salary, while no fault lay with him or his people. It would also put it in the power of disaffected persons to decrease the pastor's salary merely by withdrawing their contributions. It seems to us that such reduction or suspension of aid might better be made the year following than the year in which the people fail to pay their portion. The theory, moreover, that the grants in aid are made to the congregation and not to the preacher is theoretically correct; but the practical difficulties are such as to make it usually inapplicable. It requires a degree of business management and strict honesty rarely found except in our large and long trained churches.

(4) This rule is practically in force, the native Evangelistic Board and the Station together deciding the amount to be expected of the people.

(5) In our field the exceptions would far exceed the rule, or the work would be suddenly contracted to small dimensions. The Turkish portion of our field is in such a state of civil disorder that it cannot fairly be considered. The Persian portion has about fifty preachers. Four of these are over self-supporting churches, and six receive half or more of their salary from the people. A few other churches will, we hope, soon pay half or more of the pastor's salary; but, under the proposed rule certainly two-thirds of the preachers would be discharged or counted as "exceptions". (Cf. II. 2, B, C, D, 3.) In the Tabriz field every preacher would remain only by "exception", while in Mosul not over two or three could remain under the rule. Have we, our honored predecessors and the Board to whom every detail has been reported, erred so greatly as this would imply?

N. B.—It is assumed that Rule 5 is intended to cover all cases not conformed to Rule 1.

We have frankly stated the difficulties that beset us in our attempts to strengthen the church of Christ in Persia, and the reasons which, in our judgment, make it impossible to apply the proposed rules. We are aware of the great evils arising from the unwise use of funds, though evils are not infrequently referred to that cause which rather arise from other and anterior causes. From the worst of these evils we believe our work to be free; but experience has taught us that difficulties of wise administration are constant and the temptation to trust material rather than spiritual forces is never absent. Oftentimes we are saved from despair only by the thought that God overrules even our mistakes to His glory and the advancement of His Kingdom.

the discussion of methods of missionary work these two classes often treated as if they were in some sense antagonistic, though in practice few if any would refuse them both a place in the work of every mission to the unevangelized. Feeling assured that we are all in perfect accord in accepting the fundamental truth, I earnestly invite your attention to the question whether in the plans of our Board in Persia and Turkey, the proper balance is maintained between these two departments of the work.

All with great joy the meeting of this conference, accomplished, through God's providence, after so many years of effort and after so many disappointments and postponements. The difficulties have indeed been great. Difficulties of communication, owing to the unreliability of Persian telegraphs and delays of Persian posts, difficulties of travel incident to the long distance and the wretched accommodations for travelers, which are probably no better, if as good, after twelve hundred years of Moslem civilization than in the days of the Achæmenean who ruled their distant satrapies from this historic capital—difficulties greater than all else in the pressure of work on each one of our missionaries, a pressure often a little greater, but seldom much less than they are able to bear up under, and which leaves so little time and strength, after all else is done that must be done, to give to the joys of fraternal conference and Christian fellowship, in the consideration of the interests of the work as a whole. How delightful to have an opportunity for once to consider these momentous questions on their merits; to be permitted for a time to free ourselves from questions of expediency and to look squarely in the face, divested of all subordinate considerations, the work the Lord has given us to do in this land; to join our heart in praise and supplication to God for His blessing on our work as society and as individuals; and to share in the inspiration and spiritual uplift which ever comes to the assemblies of the saints who are gathered upon God with one accord expectant of His presence and His

There are ever so many demands upon the missionary's time and strength, and so many appeals to his sympathies in many directions, that he feels compelled, in order to avoid frittering away his time and opportunities, to limit himself to definite lines of labor, leaving much more outside than is included, and trying to do well and faithfully the work which he believes Divine Providence has laid it upon him to do. But it is quite possible to become so absorbed in the specific work which is nearest in that we may become oblivious to tendencies, dangerous at first, but which, if left unchecked, may render nugatory the work upon which we have so faithfully toiled. In spiritual life, no less than in the realm of nature, there is an inherent disposition to follow the lines of least resistance. It is therefore important, from time to time an opportunity should be afforded us to take our bearings and to see whether we have drifted out of our course, to consider whether we are indeed accomplishing to the fullest extent, and in the best way, the work we have undertaken in the name of Christ to do. It will do us no harm to put some questions to ourselves, as stewards of the bounty which God has given us to administer. If we can answer satisfactorily to our consciences, certainly it will be inspiring and cheering, to feel that, after a careful and searching examination, we are keeping step with God's providence, and marching under His banner to assured victory in His own good time. On the other hand we find that we have unconsciously fallen out of the ranks, that we are lagging to the rear, while the enemy is in full force upon our flanks; that we have not made the best of the magnificent equipment which the churches at home have endowed us, and of the talents which God has given us and commissioned us to use for His glory in

this land of darkness, then surely we have need to take counsel together, and to inquire of God, if haply He may avert from us confusion of faces, and that He may hear our confessions and our supplications, and take away our reproach.

In view of the magnitude of our force, the expense of our plantations, our annual expenditure, are we accomplishing what we might reasonably be expected to accomplish in the work of evangelization? Have we had sufficient time and facilities for carrying us far enough through the stage of preparation to justify us in assuming the offensive throughout our field, and adjusting our methods to the new conditions? Have we fully improved our opportunities in educating our helpers, to send them throughout their course of instruction systematic exercise in practical work of itineration under our personal supervision? Have we done our full duty in making known the Gospel of Christ to the communities of Armenians within our field, and outside our central stations? Have we done our full duty in carrying the glad tidings of salvation to the thousands of villages included within the limits of our field?

I do not believe we have done our full duty in these matters. We have been too easily content with carrying on the stationary work of its multifarious agencies all so important, so essential to the future development of the work, and we have lost sight of the demands of the outlying district, to satisfy which is none the less important and the less essential to the growth and prospects of the work in the future. "This ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone".

The question has been raised by Mr. Esselstyn in the Church at Home and Abroad, whether the work of preparation in our Persian Mission has not advanced far enough; whether the time has not come for an organized popular, forward movement for preaching the Gospel to the masses, assuming the risk which is clearly pointed out of our being consequently expelled from the country, but contenting ourselves with obeying the commands of our Master and leaving the consequences with Him. As I understand Mr. Esselstyn's article, the question is simply proposed for discussion, not definitely recommended for action. Were this the only way to undertake the preaching of the Gospel to the people, I should answer Mr. Esselstyn's question in the affirmative. But the risk of our expulsion as a consequence at a very early period would be so great that it would not be expedient for us to adopt a policy of that kind without first satisfying ourselves that there was a better way of effecting our object. The converts from Islam would be too few and scattered and uneducated to form a nucleus of themselves for the gathering of other converts. Is it likely in the nature of things that Christianity would gain sufficient momentum during the early period in which we would be permitted to carry on a popular movement to carry it forward to any practical results? I fear we could not count upon the Christian communities in the midst of which our churches are planted to keep the sacred fire burning to enlighten the darkness around. Even in Oroomiah the churches would be pressed so hard by the Catholics and others, were the Protestant missionaries withdrawn, that they would probably be able to do little more than preserve themselves from extinction. No! With our own voices silenced, our schools, hospitals and churches closed, and the circulation of the Scriptures prohibited, we should be more likely to witness such results as followed the expulsion of the Huguenots from France, than to see repeated in Persia the wonderful constancy and faithfulness of the Mesopotamian Christians.

The fact is that with all our years of preparation we have not accomplished very much in the way of raising up helpers. Outside of Oroomiah none of our stations have any native helpers to spare for our work. In Oroomiah it is difficult to induce competent men to en-

evangelistic work outside their own district. Tabriz has for years been dependent on Turkey to supply their local pulpit, and also for its principal teacher. Teheran has had to call upon Oroomiah to man her two outstations. Hamadan had to deplete Faith Hubbard to find a teacher for Sennah, and our mission house in Kerman has been closed since Mr. Hawkes' return, for lack of a native who could be sent to occupy it. Oroomiah, with its half dozen stations, and "more to follow" and with its superior educational advancement from which the people have profited for so many years, could certainly be thought to be well provided for, and yet, have more than a score of the purely Moslem villages in Oroomiah had evangelistic visitation from the missionaries personally, and do any of them have systematic visitation from native evangelists? I know that much is expected from the Evangelistic Board of the Oroomiah churches, and I trust that the mission may not be disappointed, but I am sure nothing more than a beginning has been made even in that station, so fruitful in good works, and long the model for the rest of us to copy in her methods. In the other stations, unless I am much mistaken, is there any approaching a thoroughly organized itineracy, whether conducted by missionaries or by native helpers.

One can question the beneficent results of our work for the comfort of Christians and Jews among whom our stations are planted. Certainly much has been accomplished in each one of these stations in overcoming the prejudices of the Moslem, high and low, and in opening the way for their ultimate acceptance of the truth. But let us ask ourselves candidly what effect has our work had upon the masses of people outside these five or six centers. All our own stations are in an area small in proportion to that of the country at large. It has presumably conditions not materially different from those in our own field. I venture the assertion that, outside the occasional colporteur, but a small proportion of the villages in the field we have actually occupied have even had the opportunity of hearing the Gospel message, how many of them have had anything like adequate presentation of the truth as it is in Jesus for their acceptance. Outside these narrow limits Persia is to us and to our helpers an unopened country. What possibilities of Gospel triumphs await the man who braves its vast solitudes, its rugged mountains and unnumbered tribes of men, to carry to them the glad tidings of salvation in

I would characterize the present attitude of our missionaries as a hesitancy on the question of Moslem evangelization, as one of distrust, or perhaps of apathy, I am sure the statement would be called in question by many of our people. There are so many good and weighty reasons for the adoption of a policy which may be called an expectant one in our work with the Moslem people, that it is no evidence of a lack of interest in them that our missionaries does not follow up the work for them as he does for others. The difficulties and discouragements of such a work are obvious to all who have had anything to do with it, in Persia particularly, where truth cannot command even the tribute of public opinion in its

ordinary difficulties and hindrances only serve to stimulate to a more real and more persistent effort. Why then do we stand before the walls of Jericho with faint hearts and bated breath? Why do we not possess the land which the Lord our God giveth us? Certainly it is not fear that unnerves us,—fear of personal violence, how probable such a result. Why then should these magnificent opportunities with a whole kingdom open before us, appeal to our sympathies? Why brethren, I cannot answer for you, but for myself I can only confess that I had almost come to doubt the capacity of the

Persian Moslem for salvation. So lightly is sincerity and honor among them that the merest hope of getting employment, or pecuniary assistance would lead many to profess Christianity false and so skilful are they in duplicity that their detection is very difficult while their co-religionists are always ready to condone their preter adhesion to Christianity if made to believe that it is only a pretense for the sake of material benefits. I confess that after having been deceived over and over in such cases, I had come to feel that a Mussulman professing faith in Christ was an object of suspicion, and I had to be on guard to prevent the question intruding itself upon my thoughts. "Now what axe has this man to grind?" In such a spirit how could I meet the sinner with the loving and urgent invitations of the Gospel with all that invitation means? To call them to repentance; to invite them to accept of Christ as their personal Saviour; to receive baptism in His name; to become members of His body, the Church; how could I do this while distrustful of the power of the Word to penetrate the recesses of their deceitful hearts and cleanse them?

I became alarmed at myself, I felt that a deadly paralysis of the soul was creeping over me, and I prayed to God to deliver me from its power, to give me true fervent faith to believe that He is able to do even to the uttermost the most hopeless and the most degraded of every name or race. Thank God he *has* delivered me and has made me feel that the Persian and the Moslem have the same hope in the Gospel as the Anglo-Saxon; even as his destruction is the same without.

How then shall we find a method by which we may preach the Gospel in the power and demonstration of the spirit convincing them, and persuading them to be reconciled to God, and by which at the same time we may avoid the evils of hypocrisy and unfaithfulness we so much deplore? Certainly for ourselves, no evil can compare with that involved in the abnegation of our commission, which is not only to preach to baptize. Whatever may be the cause of our inaction in this respect the fact remains that nothing is being done for the evangelization of Moslems commensurate with our present opportunities. At present we have freedom enough to do vastly more for them than we are doing. Whether that freedom would be continued in the event of our utilizing more fully these opportunities, is not, I think, a question for our consideration. To myself I am coming to feel that the "one clear duty" is to go out into the highways and compel them to come in, baptizing them on confession of their faith, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. That we are called to do to the full measure of our opportunities what was done by the Apostles at Antioch; what was done in the Sandwich Islands and among the Saurashtra and Telugus of Southern India; what is even now being done among the low caste people of Northern India where fifteen hundred converts are being received monthly in the Methodist Mission alone. We must not trust God to take care of the consequences, whatever they may be; trust Him to know and to own them that are His; trust Him to use other instrumentalities to teach them the fuller knowledge of Him; trust Him to heal their diseases and dispel their ignorance; trust Him to cover the reproach of their unfaithfulness and their untastes; and to see that in due time they are built up and established in Him.

I think we have made a mistake in expecting converts from Islam to manifest all the graces of the Christian life before baptism. Many generations of Christian civilization lie back of the new convert in Europe and America, and a Christian public opinion and the restraining influences of multitudes of Christian men and women are ever with him to protect him, at least from outbreaching sin. How different the state of the convert from Islam, who has to contend not only with his own in-

tendencies, but with the aggregated heredity of the community in his lives. Regeneration is instantaneous, but we, who through mercy, are regenerate, do not need to be told that sanctification is gradual. Oh! how dishearteningly gradual it is with some of us. The Israelites required forty years of training in object lessons and in experiences before they were capable of knowing and understanding even the elements of holiness, can we require that these who have come out of bondage only less better than that of Egypt, shall grow to their full stature at once? We may not lower the standard, which is to be perfect and is perfect, but we should remember that that standard is given as an expression of the supreme ultimate ideal for all eternity. It is not to be used as a barrier to block the way of the timid inquirer at the outset of his journey heavenward. How many of the three thousand converts added to the church on the day of Pentecost could have responded to the tests by which we seek to preserve the purity of the church of Christ? But among them were found also Parthians, Medes, Persians, and I have no doubt the Apostles found in them the same quality of character by nature which we observe in their descendants today. It may be that like Uzzah we are giving to the ark of the Lord more support than it requires. We have been jealous for Him, that His name should not be dishonored in the character of the converts from paganism. We have sought to build up a work among the people of ideal character, and to be able to point to converts whose integrity and pure life should witness as living epistles to the regenerating power of the Gospel. But are we not running before we are sent? God's plan sometimes appears too tedious for our eager anticipation. We would make short cuts over these interminable distances. Evolution is so conducive to much wrangling, both in science and theology, but when we are extravagant the claims of some of its advocates, we cannot ignore it as a factor in the Christian life. "First the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear." How differently would we have proceeded had we had the responsibility of converting the motley mass of Hebrew slaves into a compact nation chosen to be the depositories of the oracles of God, and to represent Him before a gainsaying world. Would we not have outdared Darwin in maintaining the law of "survival of the fittest"? The good would not have died young, the sinner in a green old age. Neither in our plan of redemption would there have been any provision for the church at Corinth, nor yet for those of Sardis and Laodicea. There would have been no Middle Ages, no Pope, nor Inquisition, nor Jesuits. Christ does not break the bruised reed nor quench the smoking flax. If He has found it possible to make the truth survive these things, may we not hope that she who is not utterly crushed to earth though a number of regenerate but unchristianized Moslems be baptized in His name? I remember having said something years ago, not entirely in harmony with these views—quite the reverse. I am not concerned about that matter. It is the part of wisdom to learn lessons in the mistakes and failures of the past.

We are commanded, however, to be wise as well as willing. We are not in the Sandwich Islands, nor yet in India. Anything like a public and regular prosecution of evangelistic work for Moslems would assuredly reach its own ends, since long before any considerable part of the population were reached with the Gospel message the consequences foreseen by Mr. Esselstyn would be upon us, and the work, both new and old, in so far as it depended upon human agencies, would be arrested. How then shall a forward movement be made which shall be justified to the conditions of our work as to make sure that it shall not be stifled at its birth? I believe that, guided by the spirit of grace and wisdom, the brethren assembled in this conference will find a way in which salvation shall be brought to the hungering multitudes who

as yet know not even that they have need of bread. The land is before us, and the avenues of approach are many. We are not to offer battle at the bridge where the enemy is intrenched when there are many forts by which his position may be turned. There is on instrumentality which is at the same time safe and practicable, and judiciously employed, effective. I mean the itineracy. But to make it effective it must be conducted, for a long time to come, by the missionary in person, and conducted as systematically and with as definite purpose as would be required in any other department of our work, cannot be made subject to the convenience of the missionary, or dependent upon the time that can be spared from other work, but it shall be given its proper place, and recognized as second to no other agency which Divine Providence has placed at our disposal.

If I venture to throw out a few hints with the view of bringing the question more definitely before the Conference for your consideration it is only in the way of suggestion. Conscious as I am of the demand of this paper in undertaking to treat in something of detail so general a subject, I feel content in the assurance that the subject itself will command your earnest attention. It lies as a heavy burden on all our hearts and the question is not at all as to our duty and our privilege, but the best and wisest ways in which our duty may be discharged, and our privileges improved. There is, however, one aspect of this question upon which I am prepared to speak with the authority of personal conviction. If evangelistic touring is to be done systematically, and in anything more than the name, we must for a period, not shorter probably much longer than five years, personally conduct it ourselves. Our native brethren cannot do it for us, however willing and how consecrated they may be, for such a work requires something more than consecration. It calls for energy, persistence, pluck and tact. It is that indefinable something which throughout the Orient is so conspicuous by its absence, and which we Americans call *goaheaditis*. Many years of the missionary's time are wisely given to training young men to be preachers and teachers and physicians. Why should his time not be as legitimately exercised in training them to be evangelists and colporteurs? But this kind of training can only be given *in propria persona* on the road, as Christ taught His disciples, while He taught people the things of the Kingdom.

I believe that some of the methods of our Methodist brethren, which have ever been so successful in new fields at home could, at least, be profitably employed here. We have the Apostolic sanction as well as that of our own church, for adjusting our methods to our circumstances. We are to become all things to all men if by any means we may save some. To lay out into circuits as large a portion of territory contiguous to each station as could be profitably visited; to arrange that such visits should be made by a missionary, attended by one or two helpers, and made regularly and in accordance with a defined plan which has been previously adopted by the station; to organize in the villages whenever possible, classes of inquirers, place them under some sort of regular instructions, and from the number whom the missionary might accept as occasion offered, candidates for baptism; what forbids that something like this should be undertaken? In the cities a longer stay should be made of several weeks or months during which secondary circuits or preaching tours could be made.

One of these helpers, if not a colporteur, should be well supplied with Bibles, and should be taught how to dispose of them to the

*In the discussion of this paper it appeared that in some quarters the writer was understood to advocate touring by missionaries *only*. This was not the thought of the writer which was that the missionary should personally superintend it and that his helpers were in this way trained for effectively carrying it on themselves if need

age. We have many colporteurs, both local and itinerating, but we say that there are many of them who are bent on getting the into the heart of the purchasers as well as into their hands? To requires training, as well as devotion, and training of a high Mr. Whipple is everywhere confronted by the same difficulty of competent and consecrated colporteurs, that we suffer from evangelistic and other work, only more intensified. The work is difficult and demands greater sacrifices than is called for on the teachers and preachers. I have seen no reason to modify the expressed by me in the past, that the very best talent we have if possible to secure it, be employed in this work *and paid accordingly*—not less, and if necessary more than our best preachers and receive. To be able to expound the Scriptures as well as to them, to have the faculty of awakening in the mind of the purchaser a spirit of inquiry into the contents of the book, this is to make a living thing, rather than an article of merchandise, a well of springing up into everlasting life, to be read and meditated upon by the possessor, and circulated from hand to hand, when otherwise it is laid away and forgotten, or preserved perhaps as a talisman, to ward off the evil eye. The matter of training colporteurs for Bible work is as of the highest importance. Some years ago I read a paper at an annual meeting of the West Persia Mission emphasizing these things. A longer experience tends only to accentuate their importance in my own mind, and I look upon it as an event in the highest degree significant that our missionary band has been recently reinforced by a man, Rev. Wm. Shedd, who has for a number of years been qualifying himself for special work for Mussulmans, including the training of evangelists and others engaged in work for them. The organization of the Inner Mission also in Oroomiah with its corps of zealous missionaries and having for its object Moslems as well as Christians, is full of promise, and is well worthy in my opinion of adoption by the churches at other stations. That these are young and few in numbers compared with the large Christian population of Oroomiah is no objection. Churches do not learn the blessedness of giving and working for others when they are weak, they will be little likely to learn it when they grow strong. The duty of working for others ought to be pressed upon every church as soon as organized, and I hope our newly formed Church in Hamadan may be found setting a good example in this respect.

We dwell upon our duty to the unevangelized in pleading for the organization of the itineracy. It is alike demanded in view of our duty to the converts already gathered in. If our churches are to become filled with the missionary spirit, it will not be through our appeals to others but through our own example—our life. What we ourselves are, we labor for and pray for and agonize for, and manifest in thought, purpose and action as the supreme business of our life, that which fills our whole horizon—that is what those who follow us will also follow. As Paul, we are determined to know nothing among this people but Christ and Him crucified, and determined, by God's grace, to obtain that knowledge the possession of the people of Persia—if we feel that the prophet that the Word is within us as a burning fire shut up in our bones, which compels utterance and demands an audience, then those who come under our immediate influence must necessarily be impressed with the same aspirations and the same purposes.

As I have thought over the many perplexing problems connected with the work for Moslems, the question has again and again forced itself upon me, "What are we going to do with these converts we are bringing to baptize?" If they are true to their professions they will be ostracised by their neighbors, and many of them will almost certainly come upon us for support or assistance. If untrue they will

pretty certainly try to make a gain of godliness. This is a well-known story, which I would only weary you in repeating. After a while, judging from past experience, would we not be compelled to close our doors, or be overwhelmed with the floods of hypocrisy and fraud which we had invited upon ourselves? These are questions easier to ask than to answer. They are not peculiar to our own work, however, and they are not necessarily discouraging. Paul had to face them at Corinth, and missionaries have to deal with them the world over. Good things often have their beginnings in darkness and degradation. The immediate outcome of the Divine purpose in creation was not a completed universe, but chaos. Newly acquired freedom often degenerates from time into license. Great reforms are commonly followed by periods of reaction. God waits, but His purposes do not fail. We must learn patience, something of the infinite patience of Christ, who tolerated even a Judas to bring reproach upon Himself, His ministry, and His followers. Many difficulties will correct themselves as converts multiply. All cannot expect to be fed, and they will soon cease to think of such a thing, while they will be more able to help themselves and others as their numbers increase. So will they be more capable of detecting hypocrisy and weeding it out than we could do. Do you ask how the already overburdened missionaries are going to take up for themselves, in addition to their other cares, labors so severe and so exhausting as would be involved in so great an extension of our work? The answer is that either more laborers must be sent out by the church at home, or else that our work must be reorganized, and the balance between its various departments more equitably adjusted. We must cut our coat according to our cloth. The educational work, the medical work, the local evangelistic work, the work of translation, the treasury, the press, the demands social and political, the protection of our people from oppression, and besides the care of all the churches; these surely can none of them be laid aside. Certainly not. But they can and must be made subservient, to a degree that does not yet prevail, to the work of saving souls. Our work has not developed symmetrically. We have shifted our cargo, and we need to readjust our center of gravity. If we have so far failed in our work for Moslems cannot be denied, if the results visible and tangible are to be taken as a criterion. If we are satisfied that our methods are the best and only ones, then we are not to be concerned about results, but only about our duty. But if we find it possible to bring our methods into closer harmony with those of the Apostles, then let us do so without delay. The night cometh when no man can work. How important that we should improve these priceless privileges while they are open to us, for we have no assurance that five years hence the freedom we now enjoy in preaching Christ in Persia may not be greatly abridged.

But after all has been said, the question of methods and instrumentalities is wholly beside the mark, unless the baptism of the Holy Spirit be upon us, and His power worketh in us. He can accomplish His purposes with any instrumentalities. Who are the elect but those whom God has graciously chosen to be the almoners of His bounty? Brethren, I believe God is waiting for us to decide whether we will give up and possess this land for Him. He is ready to bless. His oil is waiting to fill our vessels and all we can provide. But only to them who freely give is His grace freely given. It is not the stagnant pool, the fountain of living water, ever giving of itself to bestow life, beauty, and gladness wherever its waters flow, that Christ has chosen as the symbol of Himself. As we give out to others, how freely, how beautifully does He give of Himself to us. And in giving Himself, He not also freely given all things?

Christianity and Behaism

1. Has Christianity anything to do with the origin of the Bahi movement?

Christianity has much to do with it. Persia never accepted Islam from conviction, and educated Persians are as a rule quite indifferent to its claims upon their consciences, however ready they may be to yield to its claims as a political and social system. But the horde of mullahs and hereditary sayids are ^{extremely} interested in keeping the faith pure and orthodox, and all attempts within the fold to soften the asperities of the orthodox faith have always been met by them with better opposition and there is now a reaction towards Christianity on the part of many who feel the need of a God less unapproachable than the God of Islam, one less exacting in points of ceremonial, and having more of human sympathy. Sufism is too impersonal, Christianity makes too great demands upon the will and affections in working righteousness. But the need of a God manifest in the flesh is satisfied in Baha, who, claiming to be the Divine Essence, present in all preceding manifestations, now becomes the ^{ultimate} culmination of the progressive series by appearing ~~himself~~ ^{himself} in person, thus fulfilling all things written in the Law and the Prophets concerning the Messiah and His Kingdom and appearing as the God Man, the revealer of God to man and the mediator between man and the great abstraction whom Mohammedans are taught to adore and to obey, but whom they are not expected to love. And so it is that whenever a ^{Mahdi} ~~Mahdi~~ arises in Mohammedan lands, he finds multitudes ready to welcome his message and to receive him as their deliverer. And so it is natural that in order to meet the need which all feel who have turned in disgust from the dry husks of Islam, the coming one should assume the garb and ^{usurp} ~~arrogate~~ to himself the claims and profess to dispense the blessings which pertain only to the Son of God.

the whole Bahad movement is in fact, whatever may have been in the mind of its originator the Bab, a counterfeit of the Messiahship of Christ. At least this is the side of it that is turned toward both Christians and Jews. The system has a facet for each of the world religions, appealing with the Moslem to the Koran, with the Hindu^u to the Vedas, with the Chinese to Confucius &c. But the appeal is in fact to the original autographs, whenever there is anything found in any of these religious writings that fail^s to sustain or that antagonizes Baha's claims. It is the true Torat, and Injel, the true Koran and Zend Avesta and Vedas that so unequivocally indorse Baha. Something appears in them now which seem to oppose his claims, but these are either spurious additions, or by proper interpretation are shown to sustain Baha even more strongly than the passages which are less obscurely worded. All that relates to the second coming of Christ in the Old Testament or the New, is ~~properly~~ appropriated to himself by Baha and everything in our Scriptures relating to God is bodily applied to himself. The ^{Bahais} ~~Bahaeen~~ charge upon the Christians the same spiritual blindness in their refusal to recognize and accept Baha as God as that which prevented the Jews from recognizing their Messiah when He came to them. So they charge upon the Moslem the same folly in their rejection of Baha as that which possessed Jews and Christians together in refusing to see in Mohammed the prophet like unto Moses whom the great law-giver had so long ago foretold. They discover a very plausible analogy between their relations to the Christians now, ~~and~~ and that of the early Christians to the Jews. As the failure of the Jews to see the Messiah then was due to spiritual blindness, and was to be overcome by yielding submission

to the Holy Spirit, who would then lead them into all truth, so now, submission to the spirit of Baha is essential for one who would attain to a knowledge of the truth in him. Without faith it is impossible to please God. All that is taught in the New Testament about the fruits of the Spirit, about the necessity of the new birth &c. is made prominent in their teachings also. The failure of the many attempts to reconcile Christianity with pagan cults by ^{gnostic} Moslem pretenders in the past, could in no wise deter Baha Ullah from making the attempt anew with the help of a cement of Islam theology, for it is probable that in common with most orientals, he knows nothing of the history, either of nations or religions, except such meager and distorted statements as could be obtained from Mohammedan authorities. Khair^ullah, with the aid of his American ~~x~~ coadjuter, has worked into his book many western opinions, but he probably obtained most of these in America. He had abundant opportunity however of learning of the teachings of the ^{gnostic} Moslems, as Mohammedan writings abound in denunciations and refutations of the doctrines of ^{the} Manichaeans.

2. What effect will the movement have in influencing Persians in their attitude toward Christianity?

It will bring a few nearer to Christ. By far the greater number of its adherents will be brought into more active antagonism to Christianity than before. As Moslems it was possible for them to recognize grave defects in their religion as compared with Christianity. In Baha these defects are in their eyes remedied and they have, as they believe, secured all that was revealed to the Christian not only, but they have gone far in advance and have that in hand for which the Church of Christ has watched and waited so long unsatisfied, the second coming of the Lord. To the Baha^e as to the early Christian, the Lord is at

and, for though Baha has "withdrawn his presence," it is only for a short time, when the fulness of the blessing will come in the establishment of the Kingdom of God on the earth. His witnesses go out into the world speaking that they do know and testifying that they have seen, and their message and their testimony is received as gladly, apparently, as that of the apostles by the people to whom they went. Though they have no resurrection other than a rebirth into the present world, and no even where there is no sin, the message comes to them in some sense of glad tidings, and they are zealous to go forth and make it known to the world. For they find relief from the burdensome exactions both of Islam and ^{of} Judaism, and have not to meet the Christian demand for personal holiness, and as they are taught to believe that Christianity is ^{at} best an inferior stage of development of their own faith which has had its end and been abrogated, the Baha'is can see no philosophical reason for giving up his new found faith and yielding obedience to Christ.

But even Christ made not so unqualified a demand for the surrender to Himself of the will of his followers as Baha, for Christ offers testimony to His claims which does not suppress, but rather appeals to reason, whereas Baha demands a blind faith, which independently of all testimony, accepts him as God. Christ says "if any man will do ~~the~~ the Father's will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God or whether I speak of ~~myself~~ myself." Baha says, "if any man will do my will, he shall know of the doctrine." Christ's appeal is to the Father in His witness of the Word and the witness of the Spirit. Baha's appeal is solely to his own word, and to his own arbitrary and forced interpretations of the Word of God, which interpretations, as he states, find their

ation solely in his own authority. Being God (an assumption so far offering no proof but his own word) he is the author of the Scriptures and therefore their infallible interpreter. It follows that whatever interpretation he chooses to give to any text is law and gospel to his fellowmen, though it contradict the meaning of the simplest passages. Therefore whenever he makes the claim that a given prophesy relates to himself, there is no further room for argument. When he says that a given text has not a literal but a figurative interpretation (as for instance, ^{that} Jesus raised Lazarus and others from the dead), no man may question that deliverance, for he who inspired the writing is he who has given its meaning. He then offers all the Old and New Testament writings and equally the Koran, the Vedas and all other religious books as proofs of his claims. The neophyte sees that the conclusion is irresistible, not recognizing that the major premise on which it rests is a mere assumption. He has committed his will and reason as well to the keeping of his master, and must necessarily accept with full assurance of faith all his master's teachings. Should he question in the slightest degree any of these conclusions, he is told that he is yet in darkness and that without faith no one can enter into the light. There must be absolute surrender of the will or no enlargement of the understanding. This is plainly the livery of heaven. The ^{Be-} ^{and} ^{as} ^{is} ^{been} talk as glibly of the gift and grace of the Spirit as beautifully as any Christian saint could do. It is all counterfeit, but a counterfeit which deceives the ones who put it forth as well as those who accept it, and is one very difficult to expose among a people deficient in the logical faculty and having the critical sense almost wholly undeveloped.

Though there is an outward semblance of fellowship# for Christians on the part of ^{Bahais} ~~Bahans~~, there can be little doubt from the intolerance they show to those who recant, that should they gain power enough they would be as ready to persecute Christians as was Mohammed to put to death the Jews of Medina. Nevertheless I believe that Bahalism is destined to prove a solvent for Islam which will eventually assist ^{indirectly} ~~naturally~~ in breaking down the resistance of that stubborn and unyielding system of error, itself then perishing also in the ruin it has helped to bring about. Indirectly it will thus hasten the ^{triumph of the} ~~Cross of Christ,~~ ^{though} ~~the~~ only as the wrath of man is made to serve God's purposes.

3. "What should be its effect on our apologetic statements of Christianity to Mohammedans, ^{Bahais} ~~Bahans~~ etc?"

They must be restated. The traditional methods of exegesis as employed by many of our helpers, simply play into the hands of the Bahais though he had probably encountered only the less well informed of Christian converts in Syria and Persia, I think it was not entirely an idle boast of one of the Baha missionaries at Hamadan when he told me that he had overthrown every Christian controversialist whom he had yet encountered. It is true that he later said the same thing about me, but if so, he had to make new breaches in the wall before he gained entrance. If we are at liberty to interpret the Scriptures literally when it suits the convenience of our argument to do so, or figuratively at will, regardless of context or of historic setting or perspective, then we are compelled to allow them the same liberty: and they can easily discount us in such a contest, since they know nothing of history and care less, and they have a facility in basing a fanciful interpretation on the numerical value of a letter or a name, or on an assumed grammatical relation of the different parts of a sentence, to

which a western expert in exegesis could never hope to attain.

The missionary who is called upon to make a apologetic statements of Christianity to ^aBeⁱha^s must make sure that he himself knows what Christianity is. He must have seen with his own eyes, and have heard with his own ears, Him of whom he speaks. This is equally true in all Christian work. But in this kind of controversy it is necessary that one should see, not alone for one's self but for one's antagonist also, if he is to be convinced. The other has not my faith which makes all too clear to me that which is all mist to him. One must see with the other's eyes as well as his own, or he cannot detect and expose the fallacies which have entangled him. When, the reciprocal ^{union} is exercised one will often find also that what he had thought to be a rock in his own foundation is just what the other had seen it to be, a mere bank of sand. Much of the current allegorical and figurative interpretations of prophecy are as beautiful and in such a discussion as unsubstantial as the rainbow. The undoubted value to the Christian of such interpretations as aids to faith and for edification rests on another basis.

We must go down deeper than this if ^{we} ~~all~~ expect to carry conviction to the hearts of those we wish to lead in the way of life. If I teach that the will must be absolutely surrendered to Christ before one can expect to attain to the knowledge of the truth, that if one will ~~xx~~ to do His will he shall know of the doctrine, I must be prepared to show at the same time why the Bahá'í should not apply the same principle to himself in his relation to him whom he supposes to be greater than Christ. This takes us back to the ultimate principles of evidence, to the psychological constitution of the human understanding, and the recognition of its needs which we find in the Bible.

Does the Bible represent God as demanding of ^{us} ~~us~~ a blind faith in His Word, unsupported by adequate evidence? Or does it represent Him as offering such evidence and constantly appealing to our reason to differentiate between the true and the false? Does Christ demand faith in His own unsupported Word or does He repeatedly appeal to the witnesses of the Father, of the Word, and of His own works? the witness of the Father as it seems to me not in His audible words, which were not heard by the multitude, but in the witness of His spirit in the heart of each one who was willing to recognize His voice there, telling them that the Christ recognized by their understanding answered perfectly to the highest and holiest image of God which the Spirit had imprinted on their hearts, fulfilling their most perfect conceptions of what God ought to be, and holding up Him whom they saw in life as a companion picture to their inward vision of Him. As I teach that Christianity consists in a body of doctrine, I must then be prepared to show, not alone ~~to~~ ⁱⁿ my own satisfaction but to that of my hearer, wherein it is so immeasurably superior to the body of doctrine which he has accepted that it must instantly claim his allegiance. Possibly I may not succeed at once in convincing him that it is not his own creed that I am offering him, that it is not a part of, and included in, his own more comprehensive declaration of faith.

If I teach that the Christian religion does not consist of dogma, but in allegiance to a Divine Person, I see him smile, for his religion consists wholly in allegiance to a Divine Person spelled with a larger P. How shall I differentiate the True from the false? Easily enough for the satisfaction of my own heart and my own understanding, but how shall I ~~really~~ see what it really is that he sees and is deceived by, and how shall I clear away the mists which prevent his

ing with my vision? Surely nothing but the illumination of the Spirit can enable him to see, but am I prepared to be used of the Spirit for that purpose? If so, I must not only pray but labor to true myself, so that I may see true for him also.

The character of Christ is too marvellous a thing, too great its quality and its complexity for any single generation or age to see it in its entirety. This proposition no Christian could think questioning, nor that all the ages past and future could not know Him perfectly. He can only be studied in detail, and what our fathers saw, though it helps us also to see, does not help us in the same degree as it did them. For we necessarily see Him from a somewhat different angle. We should take account of this and remember that however much we may be able to enter by reason of heredity or environment or sympathy into our fathers' vision of God, we cannot accept their own point of view, and if we say we see just as they did, we are probably deceiving ourselves as well as others. For no two persons ever yet saw exactly the same mountain or the same grain of sand. No two have seen exactly the same Christ. To each believer is given the new name known only to himself and to Christ, and each one sustains a different relation to Him from every other individual.

We are still less likely to make unbelievers see just as our fathers saw, since, if they are also orientals, they are subjects of different heredity and environment, which necessarily affect to some extent their visual field. Let us recognize this and let us make a worthy effort to discover the point of view of those we would teach, so that, when we talk with them of something we have both seen with the eyes of the understanding, we may make sure that we have both seen approximately the same thing, and that we are not each talking of a wholly different thing, supposing it to be the same. Do not many of our

controversies arise from similar causes? How then are we to see our faith as it is, to get down to the foundation principles, to divert it from the things that are not essential to its integrity, but which may be accretions which obscure the clearness of its definition and mar its symmetry? I cannot answer the question but I am quite certain we shall not accomplish it unless we recognize the need, and make an honest effort to provide for it. ¶ For myself I have found some help in reverting to first principles, and in following them out, observing how Christ in His personality and in His teachings seems to fit in and satisfy the nature of things, as no other human being has ever done. Surely the Christian who has once entered into vital personal relations of fellowship with His Lord, requires for himself no other evidence, sometimes feels indeed as though other evidence were an offence to his understanding.

This will doubtless in the long run prove the most convincing also to others, though the influence of the life in Christ lived before the world, but another line of argument is also needed in apologetics. ¶ One great difficulty in dealing with the Baha'is is that whatever we say of Christ that commends itself to them, they immediately transfer to Baha so that we are in a sense placed in the attitude of ourselves indirectly glorifying him. May God give ^{us} all His wisdom that we may be able to confound the wisdom of this world with all its sophistries. But no statement of Christian doctrines can avail to draw anyone to Christ so long as there is no sense of sin in the soul and this touches the weak spot in the experience of so many orientals, converts and others. With Mohammedans and Jews alike sin is thought of rather as a violation of the ceremonial law than as an attitude of antagonism toward God, and in this respect oriental Christians, till their hearts have been touched by the Spirit of God, are not essentially different from the others. There can never be any evolution of

Christian doctrine, nor any evolution of the natural man, which will do away with the necessity of repentance for, and repudiation of sin as an essential condition of salvation, and it should be our aim, no less than it has been the aim of the fathers, though it may be by different ^{lines} ~~time~~ of approach, to awaken in the heart a sense of the sinfulness of sin and the need of a Saviour.

Spencer H. Lewis

60
What is Bahá'ism

TABLE TALAS
with
AEDUL-BAHA-ABBAS
regarding
RE-INCARNATION
MYSTERY OF SELF SACRIFICE
and
OTHER SUBJECTS....

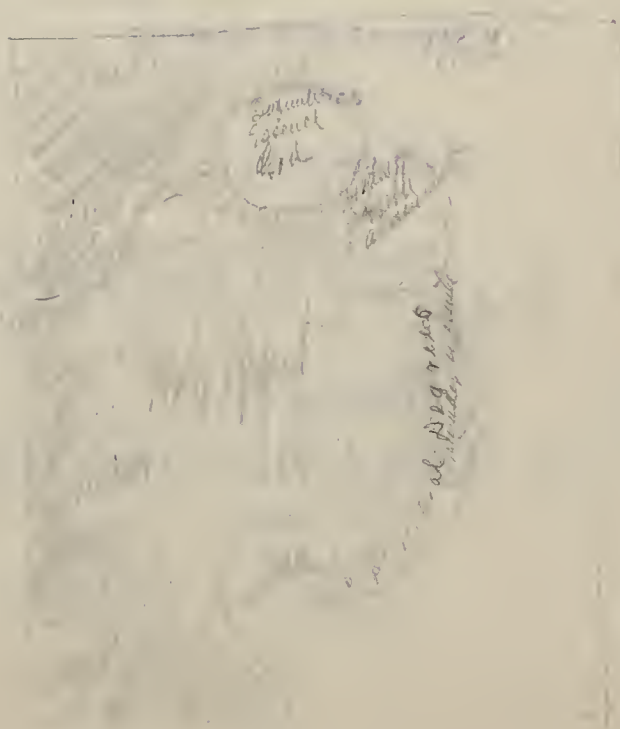
Diagram on next page

Published by

The Bábí & Bahá'í Library, London
1901

Handwritten title or header at the top of the page.

Handwritten text block in the upper middle section, possibly a date or reference.



General
Road

Handwritten notes or a small sketch within the main rectangular area.

Handwritten text, possibly a signature or a date, located at the bottom right of the main rectangular area.

BABAISM AND CHRISTIANITY
CHAP. XVI
BABAISM.

§ 1. WHAT IS BABAISM?

In the introduction to the latest authoritative work on Bahaism,—"Some Answered Questions," the author quotes approvingly an account of Bahaism published in a French Encyclopaedia, as follows:

"For the information of those who know little or nothing of Bahaism, I give the following account translated from the Encyclopaedia of Larousse:-

'Bahaism: the religion of the disciples of Baha'u'llah, an outcome of Babism.-Mirza Husain 'Ali Nuri Baha'u'llah was born at Teheran in 1817 A.D. From 1844 he was one of the first adherents of the Bab, and devoted himself to the pacific propagation of his doctrine in Persia....' (Include this all in the final copy. G.W.H.).

WHAT IS BAHAIISM?

Of all the ancient religious systems that pantheism has produced since the world was created, one only, Brahmanism, has survived to the present day, ^{Brahmanism} for/notwithstanding its pantheistic practices is fundamentally atheistic. Notwithstanding its willingness to accommodate itself to the doctrines of all other religions, and to find a way of adopting them or compromising with them pantheism has not succeeded in holding its own, as a religion, outside of Asia. The great pantheistic religions of Greece and Rome, of Anatolia, and Egypt have disappeared from the earth, and there is none to do them reverence. It remains for our day to witness the rise of a new oriental religion, markedly pantheistic in some of its doctrines, and manifesting the same attitude of complaisance toward other forms of worship, that have been characteristic of the pantheistic religion of the East.

Bahaism came forth from the bosom of Islam, and professedly accepts all the doctrines of that faith. It professes also to be the custodian of the true teachings of Christ, and the religion he established on the earth. Bahaism includes Judaism in its fold, Zoroastrianism, Brahmanism, and Buddhism, and the nature worship of the pagan religions, the the worship of idols, wherever found. That is, it accepts all these things as symbolism, symbols needing indeed to be interpreted, but it supplies an elaborate system of interpretation by means of which they can all be easily made to harmonize with the truths of Bahaism. The new religion professes indeed to be itself the central core, or substance of truth, in which

all religions of whatever type are fulfilled, for it teaches that all religions are in their essence one, that all are, as to their essential principles, alike true. It admits that they are all of them except itself, corrupted and in need of reform, but it does not require that those who have been brought up in the fold of any of the old religions should leave the faith of their fathers to enter the communion of Bahaism, all that is necessary is to acknowledge in the heart Baha as the Manifestation of the impersonal Essence of Deity, and to worship him as God, though in secret, while the devotee continues outwardly in full fellowship in his own faith.

There are many attractions in as easy fitting a religion as this to the world as it is today, particularly when it is found associated with a personality so gracious as that of the founder of the Bahai faith, or of that of his present successor. The philosophy of the new religion also, which has been expounded at length by the present head of the faith, is an attractive one to the many who have been interested in the teachings of theosophy and other speculations of Hindu philosophers, or who are in sympathy with the popular monistic philosophy of the West. It is a curious fact that while Islam holds to so rigid a monotheism that the Christian Doctrine of the Trinity is to it a stumbling stone and a rock of offence, it should have become the mother of three religions, Ismailism, Sufiism, and Bahaism, all of which hold to beliefs in incarnation, but in such forms as to make of them practically polytheistic doctrines.

As was the case with Rabbinism, Gnosticism, Neoplatonism, and Ismailiism, Bahaism also finds it necessary to employ allegorical

interpretation of the sacred books of the other religions, in order to bring them into harmony with itself. With all of these except Rabbinism, and with the philosophers of India and of Greece, Bahaism deprives God of personality, and makes of him an impersonal essence, Brahmanism makes it theoretically possible for man to know God. Some men have, after countless rebirths, attained to that knowledge, but only by themselves becoming God. Man, as man, is forever shut out from such knowledge, both for the Brahman and the Bahai. Yet in neither is there any way of salvation save in knowledge, and in neither can it be attained except as the culmination of an eternity of toilsome progression, by the unaided powers of the finite soul, I might say the finite intellect, for it must come through knowledge, not through faith.

One of the Tablets published by the Bahai Board of Counsel, New York, contains "Table Talks by Abdul-Baha-Abbas regarding Re-incarnation." The frontispiece is a diagram representing the cycles of human life. It consists of a circle inside a square. At one end of the circle, and intersected by it, is a smaller circle, or sun representing the Essence of God and at the opposite pole another circle, representing men. Between the two, and intersected by the left semi-circle, are three other circles representing the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms respectively, while on the right are an infinite number of circles progressively increasing in size from man to God, the last one being equal in size to the circle representing the Essence. These represent the infinite gradations of spiritual progress. From the Essence go forth rays in every direction, those included within the great circle, and completely filling

it, representing the Holy Spirit, those proceeding in all other directions are called "Infinite Rays", by which is meant, the transcendent activities of the divine essence. The left half of the square, outside the great circle and the small circles strung on it, is shaded to represent darkness, while the right half dwells in light. Thus is depicted graphically the evolution of man as an outward journey forth from God, and the return journey home to his bosom. He goes forth as an emanation of light, and passing away from God farther and farther into the darkness he gradually loses his character as a light bearer, and becomes darkness. Nothing remains to him of the essence but a potency, he now becomes a part of the mineral kingdom. That potency, however, that "latent power of God," carries him forward, and in the course of ages he enters the vegetable kingdom, then the animal, and at length he becomes man. This constitutes the arc of descent. He is then farthest away from God, but at the same time nearer than before, for he now begins the return journey, the arc of ascent, and thenceforth he progresses continually nearer and nearer to God, and grows continually more and more like God, till through an infinite series of progressions he returns to God. Not all pass through these cycles of retrograde and progressive development in the same time, it is possible to pass in one step from the lowest to the highest degree, and, once having made the journey, the cycle may be completed a second time without being subjected to evolutionary changes. More recent expositions of Abdul Baha show that he holds to the view of the unchangeability of species, that while he accepts the doctrine of evolution as an explanation of the order

What is Bahaism

of nature within certain limits, and believes that man may have passed through the lower forms of animal life before assuming his present form, he denies that, as a species, he was ever anything else than man. Man, he says, is absolutely perfect in every particular, but he explains that this is true only of the ideal man, the type, by which he means the Manifestation. Bahaism, as taught by its founder, is the revelation to the world of the divine bounty of the impersonal Essence of Deity through a chain of divine beings called Manifestations. Bahaism teaches that the Essence is exalted high above all knowledge of the creatures, which, abiding afar off, yet find their ultimate source of life in it. The Essence is invisible, unknowable, inconceivable, incommunicable. It is unrelated, and man has no faculties by which he can establish any relations of any character with it. It cannot be described, nor can any attempt to describe it be made, for it has no attributes or qualities which man has language to describe or imagination to conceive of. No statement can be made concerning it except in negative terms. It is not good, it is not bad, it does not love, it does not hate; it is not pleased by man's worship, not displeased by his refusal to worship; it's sphere of existence is wholly beyond and above man's sphere; the two have nothing in common.

In the person of the Manifestation the Essence is reflected as the rays of the sun is reflected in a mirror, and in the Manifestation man may see all that it is permitted to him to see of God. He does not see the Essence there, but only its bounties; the head of the Bahai faith disclaims with emphasis the idea that the Essence

What is Bahaism

could descend and be brought into relation with our world.

"All the perfections, the bounties, the splendors which come from God, are visible and evident in the Reality of the Holy Manifestations, like the sun which is resplendent in a clear polished mirror with all its perfections and bounties. If it be said that the mirrors are the manifestations of the sun and the dawning places of the rising star, this does not mean that the sun has descended from the height of its sanctity and become incorporated in the mirror, nor that the Unlimited Reality is limited to this place of appearance. God forbid! This is the belief of the adherents of anthromorphism. No; all the praises, the descriptions and exaltations refer to the Holy Manifestations. That is to say, all the descriptions, the qualities, the names and the attributes which we mention, return to the Divine Manifestations; but as no one has attained to the reality of the Essence of Divinity, so no one is able to describe, explain, praise or glorify it. Therefore all that the human reality knows, discovers, and understands of the names, the attributes and the perfections of God, refer to these Holy Manifestations. There is no access to "anything else; the way is closed, and seeking is forbidden"†

It is utterly impossible, however, for the human mind to deal, even hypothetically with a being without attributes and without any qualities of any kind, so the Essence is spoken of as if it had existence and faculties. Anything thus attributed to the Essence is, however, to be understood only of the Manifestation: "Nevertheless we speak of the names and attributes of the Divine Reality, and we praise him by attributing to him sight, hearing, power,

* Abdul Baha in
Some Answered
Questions p.169

What is Bahaism

life, and knowledge. We affirm these names and attributes, not to prove the perfections of God, but to deny that he is capable of imperfections. When we look at this world we see that ignorance is imperfection and knowledge is perfection, therefore we say that the Sanctified Essence of God is Wisdom, Weakness is imperfection and power is perfection, consequently we say that the sanctified essence of God is the acme of power"*

*Ibid ,
p.170

Abdul Baha is much given to metaphysical reasoning, an example of which is shown in his account of the reasons why nothing can be known about the Essence. These things, he says, are beyond our comprehension:

"For the essential names and attributes of God are identical with His Essence, and His Essence is above all comprehension. If the attributes are not identical with the Essence, there must also be a multiplicity of pre-existences, and differences between the attributes and the Essence must also exist; and as pre-existence is necessary, therefore the sequence of pre-existence would become infinite. This is an evident error."#

#Ibid

The Manifestations have endless perfections, but these are grouped under three categories, or "stations". The first is the physical, which is phenomenal. The second is the human, which is that of the rational soul; the third is that of the divine appearance and the "heavenly splendor". The soul is phenomenal in the sense that it has a beginning, and the Manifestations share in this with all mankind. The third state of the Manifestation, the "divine appearance and heavenly splendor," has a good many other names. It is called the Word of God, the Eternal Bounty, the Holy Spirit, the Reflection of the Divine Light,

Mirror of the Essence of Reality, Dawning-place of the morn of Unity, etc. The personality of the Manifestation is, like the body, mortal, and is dissipated at death, but his qualities, his Reflection of the Divine Light, may be re-incarnated in another personality, either at a near period or at a period very remote. An incarnation of the Divine Light in its effulgence is called a Universal Manifestation, which occurs^{only} once in a very long period, 20,000 years or more, and all records of such a Manifestation disappear from the knowledge of the world before the appearance of another Manifestation of that class. There are, however, other Manifestations of very high rank appearing meantime, called Independent Manifestations, each of whom inaugurates new spiritual cycle, or dispensation, abrogates the law of his predecessor, and delivers a new law, which becomes obligatory on the world. Revelation is progressive in character, each successive Manifestation finding the world prepared for the revelation of higher truth, which before it was unable to receive. All the Manifestations are really one and the same, but they individuate themselves in different personalities in their different appearances in the world, the mirror which reflects the sun being successively more perfect, until in Baha U'llah it, and the revelation it brings have reached the utmost limit of perfection. In Christ the Son of God was manifested; in Mohammed the Holy Spirit; in Baha U'llah the Father. Christianity was the religion that was incumbent on all men during the Cycle of Christ. This lasted till the year 621, when Mohammed appeared, and the Cycle of the Koran superseded that of Christ. Now Bahaism supersedes Islam. The claims of Baha U'llah are confirmed by the Old and New Testaments, as well as by the Koran,

What is Bahaism

the Avesta, and by the sacred books of all religions, which if properly interpreted all unite in bearing witness to him. The system of interpretation by which this is done has its final authority in Baha U'llah, though it is a canon of Bahaism that the prophet of a new dispensation is a competent authority to determine what prophecies refer to himself in any of the sacred books.

Besides the Independent Manifestations, there are others who are inferior to these, and dependent on them. The Independent Manifestations usually mentioned are Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Mohammed, and- some say the Bab, some say Abbas Effendi, Abdul Baha, the present head of the faith, Baha U'llah being the Universal Manifestation of the Universal Cycle which began with Adam. All the Hebrew prophets, all the Imams, many of the Moslem saints, and the founders of all the religions of the world, Zoroaster, the Vedic saints, Buddha, Confucius, etc. are Manifestations of one or another order.

As there is one Essence, of which all things are Manifestations, so there is one religion of which all religions are manifestations, all religions are one religion and all religions are equally true. Relatively there are differences in the degree of truth they possess, but as regards their relation to God they are all on the same plane.

Sin is non-existent, being merely the absence of knowledge; for what is called sin is but another name for ignorance, and ignorance is merely privation of knowledge, as darkness is not an entity, but a privation of light.

What is Bahaism

"Briefly, the intellectual realities, such as all the qualities, and admirable perfections of man, are purely good, and exist. Evil is simply their non-existence. So ignorance is the want of knowledge, error is the want of guidance, forgetfulness is the want of memory, stupidity is the want of good sense. All these things have no real existence..... a scorpion is evil in relation to man; a serpent is evil in relation to man; but in relation to themselves they are not evil.....Thus it is possible that one thing in relation to another may be evil, and at the same time within the limits of its proper being it may not be evil. Then it is proved that there is no evil in existence; all that God created, He created good. This evil is nothingness; so death is the absence of life. When a man no longer receives life, he dies..... Wealth is an existing thing, but poverty is non-existent. Then it is evident that all evils return to non-existence. Good exists, evil is non-existent."*

Abdul Baha in
Some Answered
Questions p.302

Bahism is based on the philosophic postulates that all phenoma have their origin in one impersonal Essence, and that all religions are manifestations of one universal truth and are therefore in their essential qualities equally true. The doctrines of the different religions of the world, as taught in their sacred books, are harmonized by a system of allegorical interpretation, which treats as symbols anything in these doctrines or in the history of the religions they represent which is inconsistent with the claims of Baha Ullah. Bahaism proclaims itself as the one universal religion, and it seeks to incorporate all religions in its fold under the headship of Baha Ullah, its only dogma, as stated in the article quoted above, being

belief in God and his Manifestations. God however, in Bahai theology is not the personal Lord and Judge of the earth and the heavens of the theistic religions, the God of Christianity, of Judaism, and of Islam, The God of Bahaism is an impersonal essence, without a name and without attributes save such as are given him by courtesy, for he has revealed nothing to the world concerning either his name or his attributes. He can only be described negatively all positive knowledge of him relating only to his manifestations. His manifestations include Jesus, Moses, Mohammed, Buddha, etc. each of whom as human persons are different, but as manifestations of the same Essence they are one. The series of Manifestations includes many prophets from Adam to Baha Ullah, who is the culminating , or Universal Manifestation of the great cycle of human history which began with Adam. Jesus is sometimes spoken of also as a Universal Manifestation, but he is always regarded as subordinate to Baha Ullah, who calls himself the Manifestation of the Father Almighty. Before Adam there were cycles and Manifestations, of which there are no records, for at the close of a universal cycle there is a cataclysm obliterating all records and all traditions. Each cycle is closed by a period of darkness, out of which the new cycle emerges to give light to the world. The dawn is signaled by one or more minor manifestations, or forerunners, who announce the coming of the Manifestation. He abrogates the law of the old dispensation and proclaims a new law which becomes obligatory on the world. Those who have not heard it or who reject it are considered dead, those receiving it are resurrected from the dead. The converts, however, are not required to forsake their old religion and old forms of worship, for all forms of religion being manifestations of the divine Essence are, in their

proper place, equally true. Proselytes are only required to believe in the new Manifestation. They are not even required to confess him before men if that is not thought expedient, the Shiah doctrine of "taqiyyeh", or religious compromise when persecution is feared, being approved, and even in some cases enjoined, by the founders of Bahaism. It is related that the Bab, a short time before his death, instructed one of his most devoted followers to deny him before the Persians in order that by escaping death he might make himself useful to the cause.

Revelation is progressive, and each dispensation receives as much light as its spiritual advancement fits it to appropriate. In each new cycle new truth is revealed, and that which was provisional and has fulfilled its purpose is abrogated. The Manifestation has three "stations", or properties, of which a physical body and a rational soul make him a sharer in the life of humanity. He has also a human personality, which, like the body, is dissolved at death. The soul of the Manifestation is phenomenal, i.e. was created in time, and, like the soul of man, is immortal. The third station or plane of existence of the Manifestation is that of the "divine appearance," or "heavenly splendor." In this state he is divine, pre-existent, self luminous. He possesses all divine attributes, and has all authority over the hearts and lives of men. At death the body and the combination of mental and spiritual qualities that unite to make up what is known as the "personality" disintegrate, and their elements are restored to the cosmic reservoirs from which they were derived. The rational soul is reunited with the world soul, the universal soul, from which it came forth. The souls of other men make this journey, the "path of ascent," through a long series of spiritual cycles of

infinite duration, by means of which they are gradually perfected and cleansed from their contact with the earthly, when they also become merged in the impersonal oversoul of the universe, but the soul of the Manifestation may reverse the path at once.

The Manifestation has now lost his identity as a human body and as a human soul. What remains to him is an effulgence, an emanation of the Essence, by virtue of which he can still reflect the light, the divine bounties of the Essence, as the mirror reflects the light of the sun. In the fulness of time he returns to the world, takes up his abode in another human body, and assumes another personality, and in this capacity becomes another, perhaps a higher manifestation, reflecting the glory of the Essence on mankind. The form passes away, the personal identity is changed, but the qualities remain the same from one cycle to another. Therefore it is perfectly correct to say of Baha Ullah so Bahaism teaches, that he is Christ, though Christ was the Manifestation as the Son, while Baha was the Manifestation as the Father.

The "divine appearance" does not take up its station with the soul and the body at the moment of conception, but this union may take place at any period of life. Baha Ullah was over fifty when he made claim to be the one announced by the Bab. Before that time he occupied several inferior stations in the hierarchy, first as a simple disciple of the Bab; then, for many years as secretary to his brother Sophia-Ezel, whom he recognized as the successor, appointed by the Bab, to his divine office, then he proclaimed that the heavenly splendor had descended upon himself. There was nothing inconsistent in this action. It was perfectly legitimate according to the accepted doctrines of Babism for a Manifestation to assume gradually higher and higher

dignities in the same person, or in different persons within a short period of time. This divine procedure is illustrated by the Bahais in the parable of a king who, in order to win over his rebellious subjects appeared to them in the disguise of an agent bringing a message from the sovereign, then later showing them his credentials as an ambassador, then as Grand Vizier, and finally, throwing off all disguise, proclaiming himself to them as their king. The transference of the divine endowment from one person to another was a well recognized doctrine of primitive Babism, and was based on a verse of the Beyan: "Thou takest Divinity from whomsoever Thou pleasest, and givest Divinity to whomsoever Thou pleasest, verily Thou are the Almighty, the Wise." Not only could Divinity be transferred, but its different degrees might be interchanged. An instances of this is given by E. G. Brown in the "New History of the Bab," who gives as his authority Hajji Mirza Jani's history, Nuktatu'l-Kaf.

"It has been said that the four "Gates" returned during the "Minor Manifestation" of this cycle; Sheikh Ahmad and Seyyid Kazim were the first and second, but who were the third and fourth? . . . The solution is made plain by Hajji Mirza Jani. Mirza 'Ali Mohammed himself was the third Bab or "Gate", and while he thus continued, Mullah Hosein of Bushraweyh was the Babu'l-Bab, or "Gate of the Gate." But when Mirza 'Ali Muhammed, speaking more freely as his followers became more receptive of divine mysteries, declared himself to be the Nukta or "Point" (i.e. the Manifestation of the Primal Will) Mulla Huseyn ceases to be only the "Gate of the Gate" and became the actual "Gate" or Bab; and, when he was killed, his brother, Mirza Muhammed Hasan, in turn received this title. But this is not all. Mirza Ali Muhammed

was first of all Bab or "Gate"; then Zikr or "Reminder", then Nukta or "Point". For awhile, however, Mulla Muhammed 'Ali of Barfurush, called by the Babis Hazrat-i-Kuddus, became the "Point", and Mirza 'Ali Muhammad relapsed into being his Bab or "Gate", and, during this period, wrote nothing! - The New History of the Bab, p. 335.

Many who have read the story of the Bab have wondered, not that Baha Ullah should have claimed to be the manifestation, but that the Bab should have had so firm a conviction that any second divine messenger was soon to appear in that quarter of the globe. Was not that strong conviction, clung to even unto death, in itself the evidence that God had indeed sent him forth to prepare the way for one whom he would manifest? Hajji Mirza Jani's story explains the mystery. Mirza 'Ali Muhammad was at first the "Bab", or rather one of the four "Babs", (ahwab) or gates of communication with the Concealed Imam. He had been advanced two further stages, and was now recognized as the "Point", the Manifestation of the Primal Will, the highest emanation of the Divine Essence, by whom the universe was created. It was but another step to the station of Manifestation of the Essence, "Him Whom God shall manifest," and no doubt, the Bab expected to take that step himself, and would have done so had his life been spared a little longer. He who had been honored as herald of the King, then as his ambassador, and his vizier, might confidently anticipate at any time the coming of a messenger bearing a "khalat," the royal robe, investing him with the vice regal dignity, the dignity of the King himself. It might be said that such a supposition concedes to the Bab a sincere belief in his own mission. It is not necessary to deny his sincerity, nor the sincerity of Baha Ullah. The doctrines of Ismailism

have so pervaded Persian thought that it is easy for any one who finds himself to be the possessor of unusual gifts to believe himself to have become invested with divinity. Men are found in many places in Persia who have this conviction concerning themselves.

Manifestly Bahaism holds to the idea of a life of some character after death. It is, however, a very vague and intangible kind of a future, a shadowy kind of an existence in a shadowy world. The old Greeks believed in a future life, but it had few attractions to the living, flesh and blood men and women, for there they were only shades in an underworld, where the joys of life as they knew it were cut off and little was offered them in return. But the Greeks retained their own identity in the abode of the dead, and even that is denied to the Bahai. His personality, his consciousness that he is himself, and not somebody else or some thing else; his personality is dissolved with his body at death, and he goes out into an unknown where he finds none whom he has ever known before, where wife and children, and parents and friends whom he knew and loved in the old life, can never know him nor he them, where God, if he be present, must be but an abstraction. The Bahais, who are so ready to talk about the other doctrines of their faith are strangely noncommittal on the subject of the future life. The Christian and the Moslem have definite conceptions on this subject, whether or not either of them are correct, but the outlook of the Bahai on the future life is hazy. They have been charged with believing in transmigration, but though individual Bahais may have such ideas, it cannot properly be considered a Bahai belief that the souls of the dead return to occupy the bodies of animals. Neither does

the person return to take up its abode in the bodies of men, for personality dies with the body. Re-incarnation in the eschatology of the Bahais is more nearly analogous to "Karma"

71104 1/2 200000? Make a note of it and follow it
56
BAHAISM AND CHRISTIANITY

BAHAISM

ancient

Of all the religious systems that pantheism has produced since the world was created, one only, Brahmanism, has survived to the present day, ^{for Brahmanism is not a religion as pantheism is} Notwithstanding its willingness to accommodate itself to the doctrines of all other religions, and to find a way of adopting them or compromising with them pantheism has not succeeded in holding its own, as a religion, outside of ^{India} India. The great pantheistic religions of Greece and Rome, of Anatolia, and Egypt have disappeared from the earth, and there is none to do them reverence. It remains for our day to witness the rise of a new oriental religion, markedly pantheistic in ~~some~~ ^{some} of its doctrines, and manifesting the same attitude of ^{complaisance} tolerance ^{toward} ^{former gods and goddesses} for other ~~forms~~ ^{forms}, that ^{have} ~~have shown to be~~ characteristic of ~~this class of religions in the past.~~ ^{been} ^{the pantheistic religion of the East}

Bahaism came forth from the bosom of Islam, and professedly accepts all the doctrines of that faith. It professes also to be the ~~BHUM~~ ^{BHUM} custodian of the true teachings of Christ, and the religion he established on the earth. ^{to include in its fold Islam and Christianity, Judaism and} Bahaism includes Judaism in its fold, ~~and~~ Zoroastrianism, ~~and~~ Brahmanism, and Buddhism, ^{and} the nature worship of the pagan religions, ^{and} the worshippers of idols, wherever found. That is, it accepts all these things as symbolisms, symbols needing indeed to be interpreted, but it supplies an elaborate system of interpretation by means of which they can all be easily made to harmonize with the truths of Bahaism. The new religion professes, indeed to be itself the central core, or substance of truth, in which all religions of whatever type are fulfilled, for it teaches that all religions are in their essence one, that all are, as to their essential

BAHAISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

principles, alike true. It admits that they are all of them, except itself, corrupted and in need of reform, but it does not require that those who have been brought up in the fold of any of the old religions should leave the faith of their fathers to enter the communion of Bahaism, all that is necessary is to acknowledge in the heart Baha as the Manifestation of the impersonal Essence of Deity, and to worship him as God, though in secret, while the devotee continues outwardly in full fellowship in his own faith.

There are many attractions in ^{an} ~~a~~ easy fitting ^a religion such as this to the world as it is today, particularly when it is found associated with ^a ~~the~~ personality so gracious as that of the founder of the Bahai faith, or of that of his present successor. The philosophy of the new religion also, which has been expounded at length by the present head of the faith, is an attractive one to the many who have been interested in ~~the teachings of~~ the teachings of theosophy and other speculations of Hindu philosophers, or who are in sympathy with the popular monistic philosophy of the West. It is a curious fact that while Islam holds to so rigid a monotheism that the Christian Doctrine of the Trinity is to it ~~monstrous~~ ^{stone} a stumbling ^a and a rock of offence, ^{it} should have become the mother of three religions, Ismailism, Sufism, and Bahaism, all of which hold to beliefs in incarnation, but in such forms as to make of them practically polytheistic doctrines. As we have seen to be the case with Gnosticism, Neoplatonism, and Ismailism, Bahaism also finds it necessary to employ allegorical interpretation of the sacred books of the other religions, in order to bring them into harmony with itself. With all of these except Rabbinism, and with ~~all~~

BAHAISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

the philosophers of India and of Greece, Bahaism deprives God of personality, and makes of him an impersonal essence. Brahmanism makes it theoretically possible for man to know God. ~~Some~~ men have, after countless rebirths, attained to that knowledge, but only by themselves becoming God. Man, as man, is forever shut out from such knowledge, both for the Brahman and the Bahai. Yet in neither is there any way of salvation save in knowledge, and in neither can it be attained except as the culmination of an eternity of ^{tollsome} progression, by the unaided powers of the finite soul, I might say the finite intellect, for it ^{must} come through knowledge, not through faith.

One of the Tablets published by the Bahai Board of Counsel, New York contains "Table Talks by Abdul-Baha-Abbas regarding Re-incarnation." The frontispiece is a diagram representing the cycles of human life. It consists of a circle inside a square. At one end of the circle, and intersected by it, is a smaller circle representing the Essence of God, or sun, and at the opposite pole another circle, representing man. Between the two, and intersected by the left semi-circle, are three other circles representing the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms respectively, while on the right are an infinite number of circles progressively increasing in size from man to God, the last one being equal in size to the circle representing the Essence. From the Essence go forth rays in every direction, those included within the great circle, and completely filling it representing the Holy Spirit, those proceeding in all other directions are called "Infinite Rays," by which is meant, I presume, the transcendent activities of the divine essence. The left half of the square, outside

59 *Abdullah*
BAHAISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

the great circle and the small circles strung on it, is shaded to represent darkness, while the right half dwells in light. Thus is depicted graphically the evolution of man as an outward journey forth from God, and the return journey home to his bosom. He goes forth as an emanation, ^{of light} and passing away from God farther and farther into the darkness he gradually loses his character as a light bearer, and becomes darkness. Nothing remains to him of the essence but a potency, he now becomes a part of the mineral kingdom. That potency, however, that "latent power of God," carries him forward, and in the course of ages he enters the vegetable kingdom, then the animal, and at length he becomes man. ^{His evolution is a process of darkness} He is then farthest away from God, but at the same time nearer than before, for he now begins ^S the return journey, ^{the} and thenceforth he progresses continually nearer and nearer to God, and grows continually more and more like God, till through an infinite series of progressions he ^{Returns to} becomes God, ~~he is again absorbed in the~~ Essence. Not all pass through these cycles of retrograde and progressive development in the same time, it is possible to pass in one step from the lowest to the highest degree, and, once having made the journey, the cycle may be completed a second time without being subjected to evolutionary changes. ~~It happens again with the~~

~~whole journey has been published in the Tablet~~ ^{holds} More recent expositions of Abdul Baha ^{show that he holds the Bahá'í view of the unchangeability of species} ~~wrote it down~~ that while he accepts the doctrine

of evolution as an explanation of the order of nature

within certain limits, and that ~~while he~~ believes that man may have passed through ~~all~~ the lower forms of animal life before assuming his present form, he denies that, as a species, he was ever anything else than man. Man, he says, is absolutely perfect in every particular, but he explains that this is true only of the ideal man, the type, which he means the Manifestation. The contents of the tablet ^{follows}

~~WHAT IS BAHAIISM?~~

Bahaism, as taught by its founder, is the revelation to the world of the divine bounty or the impersonal Essence of Deity through a chain of divine beings called Manifestations. Bahaism teaches that the Essence is exalted high above all knowledge of the creatures, which, abiding afar off, yet find their ultimate source of life in it. The Essence ^{is} invisible, unknowable, inconceivable, incommunicable. It is unrelated, and man has no faculties by which he can establish any relations of any character with it. It cannot be described, nor can any attempt to describe it be made, for it has no attributes or qualities which man has language to describe or imagination to conceive of. No statement can be made concerning it except in negative terms. *It is not good, it is not bad; it does not love, it does not hate;* In the person of the Manifestation the Essence is reflected *if it is not pleased by man's worship nor displeased by his refusal to worship its sphere of existence is really beyond man's sphere; the two have nothing in common* as the rays of the sun is reflected in a mirror, and in the Manifestation man may see all that it is permitted to him to see of God. He does not see the Essence there, but only its bounties; the head of the Bahai faith disclaims with emphasis the idea that the Essence could descend and be brought into relation with our world. To say that the Essence is good, or to say that it is bad is equally wrong. Nothing can be said of it, and man is equally incapable of worshipping it.

~~"It is exempt from praise"~~

"All the perfections, the bounties, the splendors which come from God, are visible and evident in the Reality of the Holy Manifestations, like the sun which is resplendent in a clear polished mirror with all its perfections and bounties. If it be said that the mirrors are the manifestations of the sun and the dawning places of the rising star, this does not mean that the sun has descended from the height of its sanctity and become incorporated in the mirror, nor that the Unlimited Reality is limited to this place of appearance. God forbid! This is the belief of the adherents of anthropomorphism. No; all the praises, the descriptions and exaltations refer to the Holy Manifestations. That is to say, all the descriptions, the qualities, the names and the attributes which we mention, return to the Divine Manifestations; but as no one has attained to the reality of the Essence of Divinity, so no one is able to describe, explain,

*Some Answered Questions.
p. 167.

praise or glorify it. Therefore all that the human reality knows, discovers, and understands of the names, the attributes and the perfections of God, refer to these Holy Manifestations. There is no access to "anything else; 'the way is closed, and seeking is forbidden!'"*

* Abdul Baha in
* Some Answered
Questions p.169

It is utterly impossible, however, for the human mind to deal, even hypothetically with a being without attributes and without any qualities of any kind, so the Essence is spoken of as if it had existence and faculties. Anything thus attributed to the Essence is, however, to be understood only of the Manifestation:

"Nevertheless we speak of the names and attributes of the Divine Reality, and we praise him by attributing to him sight, hearing, power, life, and knowledge. We affirm these names and attributes, not to prove the perfections of God, but to deny that he is capable of imperfections. When we look at this world we see that ignorance is imperfection and knowledge is perfection, therefore we say that the Sanctified Essence of God is wisdom. Weakness is imperfection and power is perfection, consequently we say that the sanctified essence of God is the acme of power."*

*Ibid, p.170

Abdul Baha is much given to metaphysical reasoning, an example of which is shown in his account of the reasons why nothing can be known about the Essence: These things, he says, are beyond our comprehension:

"For the essential names and attributes of God are identical with His Essence, and His Essence is above all comprehension. If the attributes are not identical with the Essence, there must also be a multiplicity of pre-existences, and differences between the attributes and the Essence must also exist: and a pre-existence is necessary, therefore the sequence of pre-existences would become infinite. This is an evident error."#

Ibid

The Manifestations have endless perfections, but these are grouped under three categories, or "stations". The first is the physical, which is phenomenal. The second is the ~~essential~~ human, which is that of the rational soul; the third is that of the divine appearance and the "heavenly splendor". The soul is phenomenal in the sense that it has a beginning, and the Manifest-

ations share in this with all mankind. The third state of the Manifestation, the "divine appearance and heavenly splendor," has a good many other names. It is called the Word of God, the Eternal Bounty, the Holy Spirit, the Reflection of the Divine Light, Mirror of the Essence of Reality, Dawning-place of the morn of Unity, &c. The personality of the Manifestation is, like the body, mortal, and is dissipated at death, but his qualities, his Reflection of the Divine Light, may be re-incarnated in another personality, either at a near period or at a period very remote. An incarnation of the Divine Light in its effulgence is called a Universal Manifestation, which occurs only once in a very long period, 20,000 years of more, and all records of such a Manifestation disappear from the knowledge of the world before the appearance of another Manifestation of that class. There are, however, other Manifestations of very high rank appearing meantime, called Independent Manifestations, each of whom inaugurates a new spiritual cycle, or dispensation, abrogates the law of his predecessor, and delivers a new law, which becomes obligatory on the world. Revelation is progressive in character, each successive Manifestation finding the world prepared for the revelation of ^{marked} ~~new~~ truth, which before it was unable to receive. All the Manifestations are really one and the same, but they individuate themselves in different personalities in their different appearances in the world, the mirror which reflects the sun being successively more perfect, until in Baha U'llah it, and the revelation it brings have reached the utmost limit of perfection. In Christ the Son of God was manifested; in Mohammed the Holy

pirit; in Baha U'llah the Father. Christianity was the religion that was incumbent on all men during the cycle of Christ. This lasted till the year 621, when Mohammed appeared, and the Cycle of the Koran superseded that of Christ. Now Bahaism supersedes Islam. The claims of Baha U'llah are confirmed by the ^{Old and New Testaments,} ~~the~~ ^{BEES,} as well as by the Koran, the Avesta, and by the sacred books of all religions, which if properly interpreted all unite in bearing witness to him. The system of interpretation by which this is done has its final authority in Baha U'llah, though it is a canon of Bahaism that the prophet of a new dispensation is a competent authority to determine what prophecies refer to himself in any of the sacred books.

Besides the Independent Manifestations, there are others who are inferior to these, and dependent on them. The Independent Manifestations usually mentioned are Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Mohammed, and—some say the Bab, some say Abbas Effendi, Abdul Baha, the present head of the faith, Baha U'llah being the Universal Manifestation of the Universal cycle which began with Adam. All the Hebrew prophets, all the Imams, many of the Moslem saints, and the founders of all the religions of the world, Zoroaster, the Vedic saints, Buddha, Confucius, &c. are Manifestations of one or another order.

As there is one Essence, of which all things are manifestations, so there is ^{all religions are} one religion of which all religions are manifestations, ~~there is~~ one religion and all religions are equally true. Relatively there are differences in the degree of truth they possess, but as regards their relation to God they are all on the same plane.

Sin is non-existent, being merely the absence of knowledge; for what is called sin is but another name for ignorance, and ignorance is merely privation of knowledge, as darkness is not an entity, but a privation of light.

Briefly, the intellectual realities, such as all the qualities and admirable perfections of man, are purely good, and exist. Evil is simply their non-existence. So ignorance is the want of knowledge, error is the want of guidance, forgetfulness is the want of memory, stupidity is the want of good sense. All these things have no real existence....
...a scorpion is evil in relation to man; a serpent is evil in relation to man; but in relation to themselves they are not evil.....Thus it is possible that one thing in relation to another may be evil, and at the same time within the limits of its proper being it may not be evil. Then it is proved that there is no evil in existence; all that God created, He created good. This evil is nothingness; so death is the absence of life. When a man no longer receives life, he dies.... Wealth is an existing thing, but poverty is non-existent. Then it is evident that all evils return to non-existence. Good exists, evil is non-existent."*

*Abdul Baha in
Some Answered
Questions p. 302.

2
BAHAISM AND CHRISTIANITY.
CHAP. XVI.

Bahaism is based on the philosophical postulates that all phenomena have their origin in one impersonal Essence, and that all religions are manifestations of one universal truth and ^{an} therefore, in their essential qualities equally true. The doctrines of the different religions of the world, as taught in their sacred books, are harmonized by a system of allegorical interpretation, which treats as symbols anything in these doctrines or in the history of the religions they represent which is inconsistent with the claims of Baha Ullah. Bahaism proclaims itself as the one universal religion, and it seeks to incorporate all religions in its fold under the headship of Baha Ullah, its only dogma, as stated in the article quoted above, being belief in God and his Manifestations. God, however, in Bahai theology is not the personal Lord and Judge of the earth and the heavens of the theistic religions, the God of Christianity, of Judaism, and of Islam, The God of Bahaism is an impersonal essence, without a name and without attributes, save such as are given him by courtesy, for he has revealed nothing to the world concerning either his name or his attributes. *He can only be described negatively all positive knowledge of him relating only to his manifestations* His manifestations include Jesus, Moses, Mohammed, Buddha, &c. each of whom as human persons are different, but as manifestations of the same Essence they are one. The series of Manifestations includes many prophets from Adam to ENBIBNBIBNBIBN, Baha Ullah, who is the culminating, or Universal Manifestation of the great cycle of human history which began with Adam. Jesus is sometimes spoken of also as a Universal Manifestation, but he is always regarded as subordinate to Baha Ullah, who calls himself the Manifestation of the Father Almighty. Before Adam there were cycles and Manifestations, of which there are no records, for at the close of a universal cycle there is a cataclysm obliterating all records and all traditions.

Each cycle is closed by a period of darkness, out of which the new cycle emerges to give light to the world. The dawn is signaled by one or more minor manifestations, or forerunners, who announce the coming of the Manifestation. He abrogates the law of the old dispensation and proclaims a new law which becomes obligatory on the world. Those who have not heard it or who reject it are considered dead, those receiving it are resurrected from the dead. The converts, however, are not required to forsake their old religion and old forms of worship, for all forms of religion being manifestations of the divine Essence are, in their proper place, equally true. Proselytes are only required to believe in the new Manifestation. They are not even required to confess him before men if that is not thought expedient, the Shia doctrine of "taqiyyeh", or religious compromise, when persecution is feared, being approved, and even in some cases enjoined, by the founders of Bahaism. It is related that the Bab, a short time before his death, instructed one of his most devoted followers to deny him before the Persians in order that by escaping death he might make himself useful to the cause.

Revelation is progressive, and each dispensation receives as much light as its spiritual advancement fits it to appropriate. In each new cycle new truth is revealed, and that which was provisional and has fulfilled its purpose is abrogated. The Manifestation has three "stations," or properties, of which a physical body and a rational soul make him a sharer in the life of humanity. He has also a human personality, which, like the body, is dissolved at death. The soul of the Manifestation is phenomenal, i.e.

was created in time, and, like the soul of man, is immortal.. The third station or plane of existence of the Manifestation is that of the "divine appearance," or "heavenly splendor." In this state he is divine, pre-existent, self luminous. He possesses all divine attributes, and has all authority over the hearts and lives of men. At death the body and the combination of mental and spiritual qualities that unite to make up what is known as the "personality" disintegrate, and their elements are restored to the cosmic reservoirs from which they were derived. The rational soul is reunited with the world soul, the universal soul, from which it came forth. The souls of other men make this journey, the "path of ascent," through a long series of spiritual cycles of infinite duration, by means of which they are gradually perfected and cleansed from their contact with the earthly, when they also become merged in the impersonal oversoul of the universe, but the soul of the Manifestation ~~may~~ reverse the path at once.

The Manifestation has now lost his identity as a human body and as a human soul. What remains to him is an effulgence, an emanation of the Essence, by virtue of which he can ^{still} reflect the light, the divine bounties of the Essence, as the mirror reflects the light of the sun. In the fulness of time he returns to the world, takes up his abode in another human body, and assumes another personality, and in this capacity becomes another, perhaps a higher "manifestation, reflecting the glory of the Essence on mankind. The form ~~passes~~ away, the personal identity is changed, but the ^{quality} ~~essence~~ remains the same from one cycle to another. Therefore it is perfectly correct to say of Baha Ullah, ^{so Bahá'u'lláh teaches,} that

he is Christ, though Christ was the Manifestation as the Son, while Baha was the Manifestation as the Father.

The "divine appearance" does not take up its station with the soul and the body at the moment of conception, but this union may take place at any period of life. Baha Ullah was over fifty when he made claim to be the one announced by the Bab. Before that time he occupied several inferior stations in the hierarchy, first as a simple disciple of the Bab, then, for many years as secretary to his brother Sobh-i-Ezel, whom he recognized as the successor, appointed by the Bab, to his divine office, then he proclaimed that the heavenly splendor had descended upon himself. There was nothing inconsistent in this action. It was perfectly legitimate according to the accepted doctrines of Babism for a Manifestation to assume gradually higher and higher dignities in the same person, or in different persons within a short period of time. This divine procedure is illustrated by the Bahais in the parable of a king who, in order to win over his rebellious subjects appeared to them in the disguise of an agent bringing a message from the ~~king~~ ^{Soulsaya}, then later showing them his credentials as ambassador, then as Grand Vizier, and finally, throwing off all disguise, proclaiming himself to them as their king. The transference of the divine endowment from one person to another was a well recognized doctrine of primitive Babism, and was based on a verse of the Beyan: ^m "Thou takest Divinity from whosoever Thou pleasest, and givest Divinity to whomsoever Thou pleasest, verily Thou art the Almighty, the Wise." Not only could Divinity be transferred, but its different degrees might be interchanged.

(from 42)

5
BAHAISM AND CHRISTIANITY.
CHAP. XVI.

An instance of this is given by E. G. Browne in the "New History of the Bab," ~~who gives as his authority~~ ^{who gives as his authority} ~~who gives as his authority~~ Hajji Mirza Jani's history, Nuktatu'l-Kaf. He says:

"It has been said that the four 'Gates' returned during the 'Minor Manifestation' of this cycle: Sheikh Ahmad and Seyyid Kazim were the first and second, but who were the third and fourth? . . . The solution is made plain by Hajji Mirza Jani. Mirza 'Ali Mohammed himself was the third Bab or 'Gate', and while he thus continued, Mullah Hosein of Bushraweiyh was the Babu'i-Bab, or 'Gate of the Gate.' But when Mirza 'Ali Muhammad, speaking more freely as his followers became more receptive of ~~the~~ divine mysteries, declared himself to be the Nukta or 'Point' (i.e. the Manifestation of the Primal Will), Mulla Huseyn ceased to be only the 'Gate of the Gate' and became the actual 'Gate' or Bab; and, when he was killed, his brother, Mirza Muhammad Hasan, in turn received this title. But this is not all. Mirza Ali Muhammad was first of all Bab or 'Gate'; then Zikr or 'Reminder'; then Nukta or 'Point.' For awhile, however, Mulla Muhammad 'Ali of Bafurush, called by the Babis Hazrat-i-Kudus, became the 'Point,' and Mirza 'Ali Muhammad relapsed into being his Bab or 'Gate,' and, during this period, wrote nothing!—The New History of the Bab, p. 335.

Many who have read the story of the Bab have wondered, not that Baha Ullah should have claimed to be the manifestation, but that the Bab should have had so firm a conviction that any ^{second} divine messenger was soon to ~~be revealed~~ ^{appear} in that quarter of the globe. Was not that strong conviction, clung to even unto the death, in itself the evidence that God had indeed sent him forth to prepare the way for one whom he would manifest? Hajji Mirza Jani's story explains the mystery. Mirza 'Ali Muhammad was at first the 'Bab', or rather one of the four 'Babs,' (ahwab) or gates of communication with the Concealed Imam. He had been advanced two further stages, and was now recognized as the ~~the~~ Manifestation of 'Point,' ^{the} Primal Will, the highest emanation of the Divine Essence, by whom the universe was created. It was but another step to the station of Manifestation of the Essence, 'Ilm

whom God shall manifest," and ~~there~~ can be no question that the Bab expected to take that step himself, and ~~that he~~ would have done so had his life been spared a little longer. He ^{herald} who had been honored as ~~herald~~ ^{herald} of the king, then as his ambassador, and his vizier, might confidently anticipate at any time the coming of a messenger bearing a "khalat", the royal robe, investing him with the vice regal dignity, the dignity of the king himself. ^{Ismael} ~~You will say~~ that such a supposition concedes to the Bab a sincere belief in his own mission. ^{It is not necessary to deny his} ~~I would reply that I have no doubt in his~~ sincerity, ^{as I have no doubt in the} ~~as I have no doubt in the~~ sincerity of Baha Ullah. ~~It is not necessary in combating their pretensions for us to assume that the founders of this new religion are vulgar cheats, and deliberate deceivers of their fellow men. He who has succeeded in deceiving the elect must first have succeeded in deceiving himself. The role of the conscious imposter is too transparent a one for an undertaking such as this. It is the blind, not the seeing, who lead their followers with them into the ditch, but if they were not confident of their own powers of vision they could not persuade the blind to follow them very far.~~

Manifestly Baháism holds to the idea of a life of some character after death. It is, however, a very vague and intangible kind of a future, a shadowy kind of an existence in a shadowy world. The old Greeks believed in a future life, but it had few attractions to the living, flesh and blood men and women, for there they were only shades in an underworld, where the joys of life as they knew it were cut off and little was offered them in return. But the Greeks retained their own identity in the abode of the dead, and even that is denied to the Bahai. His personality, ~~his consciousness that he~~ ^{his consciousness that he is himself} ~~possesses that he is he, and not somebody else or some thing else;~~ his personality is dissolved with his body at death, and he goes out into an unknown where he finds none whom he has ever known before, where wife and children, and parents and friends whom he knew and loved in the old life, ~~if then are there~~ can never know him nor he them, where God, if he be present, must be but the shadow of an abstraction. The Bahais, who are so ready to talk about the other doctrines of their faith are strangely noncommittal on the subject of the future life. The Christian and the Moslem have definite conceptions on this subject, whether or not either of them are correct, but the outlook of the Bahai on the future life is hazy. They have been charged with believing in transmigration, but though individual Bahais may have such ideas, it cannot properly be considered a Bahai belief that the souls of the dead return to occupy the bodies of ~~the lower~~ ⁶ ~~animals~~. Neither does the person return to take up its abode in the bodies of men, for personality dies with the body. Re-incarnation ~~is not a doctrine of the Bahais~~ in the eschatology of the Bahais is more nearly analogous to ~~the~~ "karma", ~~or~~ ^{Buddhism} ~~(the karma of the Brahmins)~~

